

THE  
CHRISTIAN QUARTERLY.

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I.—THE CHURCH OF THE FUTURE.

*The Oneness of the Christian Church.* By REV. DORUS CLARKE, D. D. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1869.

*Which is the Church?* or, Which one of the Present Organized Religious Bodies is Identical in History and Doctrine with the Church established by the Apostles? By REV. G. W. SOUTHWELL, of the Diocese of Western New York. New York: H. B. Durand. 1868.

*Christian Unity.* By A CATHOLIC CLERGYMAN. "One Lord, one Faith, one Baptism." 1869.

*Free Religious Association.* Proceedings at the First Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association, held in Boston, May 28 and 29, 1868. Boston: Adams & Co.

*Proceedings of the late Presbyterian Assemblies on Reunion.* 1868-9.

IT is no longer doubtful that the people are growing tired of the present divided condition of Christendom. The evidence of this fact is too overwhelming to allow it to be questioned. In both the old and the new world religious society is greatly unsettled, and is evidently in a transition state. The old dogmas, which have so long been authoritative in religious matters, are rapidly losing their hold on the convictions of the people, while there is very generally an apparent earnest inquiry for something better—something more in harmony with the present and eternal interests of men. This feeling manifests itself in almost every religious assembly; and so strong is it in many of the Protestant parties that it is with considerable difficulty the managers are able to keep the rank and file

within their proper places. Nor is this all. The heaven has reached the clergy, and many of them are speaking words full of promise for the Church of the future. What will be the result of this state of things can not now, of course, be determined. Enough, however, is already known to enable us to see that religious society will soon be divided into three great classes :

1. Those who are guided by human *authority*.
2. Those who are guided by human *reason*.
3. Those who are guided by the Divine *Word*.

Romanism will absorb the first class, Rationalism the second, and Christianity the third. Hence, it is evident that the religious contest of the future will be between a pretended infallible Church, a pretended infallible Science, and a truly infallible Book. This classification presents the real issue; and as religious parties are already arranging themselves for the contest, it becomes every one to determine at once upon which side he will be found.

It is almost certain that Protestantism, as it now exists, will not survive many more years. The disintegrating process is rapidly going on, and, from present appearances, will soon have done its work. A portion of the Protestant Churches, such as have ritualistic tendencies, will most likely unite with the Roman hierarchy; others, who see no good in Catholicism, and who have lost faith in a supernatural religion, will identify themselves with the Rationalistic movement; but by far the greater part will attempt to form a union upon some common platform, where they can work together in sending the Gospel to the nations, and rejoice together in "keeping the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace." It is to this last class that we confidently look for aid in forming what must be the Church of the future. Let us now consider some of the characteristics of that Church.

#### I. IT WILL BE CHARACTERIZED BY ORGANIC UNITY.

It would be easy enough to show that this proposition must be true, or else the world can never be converted to Christ. It is simply absurd to suppose that a mythical thing—such as is generally understood by the "invisible Church"—can even be the "pillar and support of the truth" in the rugged conflicts which that truth makes with the world. The work which the Church has to accomplish requires something more than an indefinite nondescript—such

as many have decided the Church to be. What is necessary to the success of the Gospel is a definite, earnest, Scriptural organization, called the Church, not a fanciful thing, which has existence only in the dreams of benevolent sectarians, or the imagination of philanthropic latitudinarians.

It is evident, however, that a proper view of this subject is rapidly taking hold of the thinking minds of all religious parties, and this fact is one of the hopeful signs of the times. Men are coming to see the absurdity of a position which assumes that Christ established a large number of sects, and that the good and true in all these constitute his Church on earth. Dr. Clarke, the title of whose late work is at the head of this paper, gives utterance, in the following paragraph, to what must be conceded as a fair and Scriptural statement of the case:

"The oneness of the Church was evidently a very favorite object with its Founder. 'That they all may be one,' was a prayer, which, by its frequent repetitions, shows that it came from the deepest place in his heart. It was not simply Christian unity for which he so fervently interceded, for all real Christians are necessarily 'one' with him in feeling; but it was Church unity as well—unity which he foresaw would be destroyed by schism, and which he would have restored, it being the only irrefragable proof to the 'world' that the Father had 'sent' him. It was an open organic unity—a unity which could be seen by the 'world,' that he alleged to be necessary to convince the 'world' of the divinity of his mission. It was an organic unity, far deeper than any mere Christian unity, however fervid, and on which such emotional unity must rest, if it would escape the suspicion of insincerity, and seal the lips of gainsayers. It was a oneness of belief as well as a oneness of emotion; a oneness of ecclesiastical polity as well as a oneness of Christian experience; a oneness of Church practice as well as a oneness of devotional spirit. Both, *all* are covered by a correct interpretation of these tender, iterated, and reiterated supplications of the 'world's' Redeemer. He prayed that the Church he was about to leave might be as truly, as fully, as heartily 'one' as himself and the Father 'are one;' but it is morally impossible that all his children can be 'perfect in one' in the same endearing, intimate sense in which the Father and the Son are 'one,' so long as they are separated by the broad chasms of denominational prejudice and non-communication. There are no denominational walls between the Father and the Son; there are none between the Son and his disciples, and there should be none between the disciples themselves. Were it so, the 'world' could not long remain unconvinced that Christianity is from heaven." (Pp. 12, 13.)

These are certainly brave words to be uttered in the presence of the sectarian establishments which every-where disgrace the map of Christendom. And yet, the day when there was danger in uttering them is past. Men have, in a large measure, ceased to fear ecclesias-

tical courts. It is no longer positive evidence that a man is a heretic because he "speaks forth the words of truth and soberness," and "contends earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints."

The Rev. Mr. Southwell sees also that the present divided state of Protestantism is not only antisciptural, but "presents to a candid and inquiring mind serious difficulties." He opens his investigation with the following truthful paragraph :

"It is evident, from the New Testament Scriptures, that the apostles established a Church ; that it originated at Jerusalem, and that it spread from thence into all parts of the world. From the same source it is also evident that the apostles established but *one* Church ; that it was a visible, organized body, having rulers, or a ministry, subjects, or membership, and laws of government ; that in that age it was every-where known as such ; and that it was to exist till the end of the world. 'The gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' These are facts clearly gathered from the New Testament." \*

The foolish arguments which follow do not, in the slightest degree, invalidate the truth of these statements. Because the reverend gentleman finally reaches the conclusion that the "Protestant Episcopal Church only is identical in history and doctrine with the Church established by the Apostles," and is, therefore, "THE CHURCH," it does not follow that his reasoning is wrong concerning the visibility and oneness of the Church. His difficulty is plain. He sees that the numerous sects of the present do not correspond with the Church as it existed in the times of the Apostles ; but, since the Church must exist somewhere, he thinks he finds in the Episcopal sect the conditions essential to identity with the Primitive Church. There is certainly consistency between his premises and part of his conclusion ; but his fallacy consists in supposing that because there was only *one* Church in the beginning, the Episcopal organization is now that Church. This may or may not be true ; still, the argument for one visible, organized Church remains unshaken. The effort to settle the question as to "Which is the Church," by an appeal to the argument of succession, is simply ridiculous, and can only be excused in men like Mr. Southwell, who feel that something must be done to relieve the present distress. But the Church of the future will not rely on this historical argument. It will rely simply upon identity in faith and practice with the Apostolic Church.

But to conclude what we have to say on the oneness of the

\* "Which is the Church?" p. 3.



Church. Suppose some one should contend that "the Apostolic Church—the Church of Christ—is an invisible Church." Then let this be clearly shown from the New Testament. To this divine record we make our appeal, and we solemnly pledge ourselves to accept its decisions. But if it should be said that "the Church of the New Testament was a visible, organized body, but it is now invisible, and the various denominations are so many branches of this invisible Church," then we demand the authority for this change. We want to know how and when this important change took place. Again: if it be said that "the Church is not a definitely organized body, but is made up of all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, whether members of any denominations or not," let it be shown that this is the Scriptural idea of the Church—that the Apostles established such a one, wrote letters to it, and that the conquests of the Gospel in Apostolic times were achieved, not through a definite, visible, united organization, but through a multitude of rival sects, without any proper unity or organization whatever. In settling these matters we make our appeal to Divine authority. We are not willing to accept as decisive any thing that is not found in the New Testament, for the stream of Church history becomes muddy too soon after the Apostolic period to be implicitly relied upon. Those, therefore, who would destroy the visible identity of the Church, must either show that their conception of it is what the Apostles did actually establish, or else show where the Apostles authorized the change. Neither of these, we are persuaded, can ever be done. Hence, we conclude that if the Church of the future is to be identical with the Apostolic Church, it must be characterized by organic unity.

## II. IT WILL HAVE SPIRITUAL UNITY.

This proposition looks to the subjective state of the Church, and is much more difficult to properly dispose of than the first; for it is altogether more difficult to detect the differences here than in those objective conditions which are palpable to all. And yet, it is by no means certain that the amount of spiritual unity among the religious parties is greatly in excess of organic unity. It is easy enough, under the influence of a sort of pseudo-Christian charity, to get up a fine appearance of fraternal harmony—to be all things to all men, that by all means we may be *nothing*. But this is not what we understand by

spiritual unity. Nor is this what the Holy Scriptures teach as such. There is, perhaps, no subject that needs a more thoughtful and earnest investigation than the one now under consideration.

In the July number of the *Methodist Quarterly*, the leading article is on "Tests of a Valid Ministry, and a True Church," and is by Dr. Janes, one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church. This article is as remarkable for its *non sequiturs* as it is for its liberality. It is difficult to know which to condemn more, its latitudinarianism or its sectarianism. The article is an effort to show that the Methodist Episcopal Church is identical with the Apostolic Church; and in order to propitiate other denominations, the Bishop opens in the following *suaviter in modo* style:

"It is one of the advantages and beauties of the Methodist Episcopal Church, that there is nothing in her religious faith, or education, or polity, that embarrasses our fellowship with all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity. We can commune with them, work with them, just as far as their catholicity will permit. General delight in the Church of our Lord Jesus Christ is not incompatible with special delight in a particular branch of that Church. We may love a large circle of friends very sincerely and earnestly, and yet one of them may be the object of our special regard and joy. We do not love other Churches less because we love the Methodist Episcopal Church more. Nor in asserting the validity of her ministry, and the genuineness of her Churchdom, are we obliged to invalidate other ministries, or unchurch other denominations. It is in perfect charity toward others, therefore, that we assert our claim to be a true ministry and Church on the New Testament basis."

This extract is valuable for at least two reasons. 1st. It is an *authoritative* statement of the faith of a large and influential religious body on an important subject. 2d. It shows conclusively that the Methodist Episcopal Church is a most convenient organization with which to be identified; for, while it claims to be the Church of Christ—identical in faith and practice—it does not deny the same claim to all other Churches, no matter how wide the difference between them may be, provided only the "catholicity" of the other Churches "will permit." This is charity with a vengeance! But it is just the kind of charity that apologizes for the shameful divisions of Protestantism.

We have already seen that there is but *one* Church, and that all other religious organizations differing from it in faith and practice are sects, and, as such, can not have the approbation of our Heavenly Father. Hence, if the Methodist Episcopal Church is the Church

of Christ—and Bishop Janes affirms that it is—then we are compelled to “invalidate other ministries,” and “unchurch other denominations,” no matter how kindly we may be disposed toward them. It is one thing to admit the Christian character of a man, and it is quite another to grant that the Church to which he belongs is the Church of Christ. Because I am willing to allow that there are Christians among the sects, it does not follow that I am to allow also that all these sects, or any of them, are identical with the Church founded by the Apostles. Christian charity must not be substituted for spiritual unity. Just here is a point which needs to be well understood. We must not dogmatize as to Christian *character*, for it is not always easy to determine the conditions upon which it depends; but if we may not speak with certainty as to *what is the Church of Christ*, then is it simply impossible to know any thing concerning the will of God to men.

The unity of the spirit involves unity of faith and practice. The Disciples at Ephesus were enjoined to keep “the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace,” because there is “one body,” “one spirit,” “one hope,” “one Lord,” “one faith,” “one baptism,” and “one God and father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in all.” Furthermore, the Corinthians were exhorted to all “speak the same thing,” to have “no divisions among them,” to be “perfectly joined together in the same mind, and in the same judgment.” And the reason given for this is, that they had all been baptized, in the name of Christ, “by one spirit into one body,” whether they were Jews or Gentiles, whether they were bond or free, and had been “all made to drink into one spirit.” Now, we ask, in all candor, Is it possible for any one to assign these as reasons why the sects of the present day should keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace? As a matter of fact we know that they are not all “one body,” are not guided by the “one spirit,” have not the “one hope,” do not follow the “one Lord,” do not walk by the “one faith,” and are not baptized with the “one baptism.” Hence, it is easy to see that any unity among the sects is no more spiritual than organic unity. It is simply an attempt to do what all earnest, good men feel ought to be done, but is largely destitute of the elements necessary to permanent success. It is an expression of the outgrowth of Christian charity over the walls of denominationalism, but lacks the vital force of the union

principle which can alone give a practical example of the fulfillment of the Savior's prayer, when he said, "Neither pray I for these alone; but for them also which shall believe on me through their word: that they all may be one; as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us, that the world may believe that thou hast sent me."

We are now prepared to affirm that a union among the sects is simply impossible, and if it were possible, it is by no means desirable. Such a union, in the very nature of things, could only be temporary, and would, most likely, postpone indefinitely that union for which the Savior prayed. Hence the Church of the future will not be a union of Protestant sects; nor, again, a fanciful union of all the good and pious in these sects, but will rather seek the complete demolition of sects as essential to the fulfilling of her glorious mission.

That the good and pious of all parties, after the destruction of sects, will ultimately unite with the Church, we do not for a moment doubt. Some of these may do so, and will do so, even before the final end of sectarianism is reached. But we apprehend a large majority will remain where they are until the deceptive plea that we can have spiritual unity *without Church unity* is thoroughly understood. But when the good and the pious of all parties shall attain to this knowledge, the days of sectarianism will be numbered. Hence, we conclude, and we think reasonably, that the first thing essential to a true spiritual unity is to have a clear understanding of *what it is*. Such an understanding we believe the Church of the future will have, consequently we are encouraged to hope that the time is not long till all who love the Lord Jesus Christ, in deed and in truth, will "keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace."

III. THE CHURCH OF THE FUTURE WILL ACCEPT NOTHING BUT THE WORD OF GOD AS ITS RULE OF FAITH AND PRACTICE.

This is a cardinal point, and is worthy of very earnest consideration. The present divisions among religious parties had their origin largely in the failure of the professed followers of Christ to appreciate the fact that the only law by which Christians are governed is a *Divine* law. Hence, as it has been truly said, "Christian unity can result from nothing short of the destruction of creeds and confessions of faith, inasmuch as human creeds and confessions have destroyed Christian unity;" and that "whenever the setting aside of creeds and

confessions shall be attempted, Christians will give to the world, and to angels, and to themselves proof that they do believe the Word of God." Observe, it is the Word of God *alone* that we contend for as an authoritative rule of faith and practice. Most religious parties already claim to be governed by the Word of God; but they do not stop here. They are governed by the Word of God *plus* a human creed. It is this addition to which we object. It is this that must be abandoned before it is possible to have union among Christians.

But it is claimed that the creed is nothing more than the human interpretation of the Word, and that this will exist whether written or not; and that therefore the plea for the Bible and the Bible alone is practically "a deceptive plea," and is only "a bid for popular favor." Now this all looks very well. Indeed, the "popular favor" part is especially good. From this it would appear that there must be a suspicion in the minds of the apologists for human creeds that the hearts of the people are not severely wedded to the idols of sectarianism. And such, we opine, is about the fact in the case. Nevertheless, the objection suggests an important inquiry, namely: Can the Word of God be infallibly understood? We now ask attention to the consideration of this question.

If we consider the Bible as a whole—its history, doctrine, philosophy, etc.—then it is absolutely certain that all can not infallibly understand it, if, indeed, any can. When we take into account the difficulties Divine Wisdom had to overcome in making a revelation to man, it is wonderful that the Bible is as plain a book as it is. Among other obstacles two were especially prominent:

1. The incapacity of human language to express definitely and clearly the Divine thoughts.

2. The sinfulness of man—consequently the incompatibility between the Divine and human—the character of the message, and the character of him for whom it was intended.

With men these would seem to be insuperable difficulties in the way of such a revelation as man needed; but "with God all things are possible." One of the most interesting studies, in connection with the Bible, is the method which Divine Wisdom employed in making that blessed Book intelligible. To follow the gradual development of spiritual ideas in harmony with the growth of language, to behold every-where the wisdom displayed in dealing with man's stubborn and

sinful nature; and to feel the perfect adaptation of means to the great end to be accomplished, is altogether one of the strongest evidences we have of the Divine origin of the Bible. Still, it must be confessed that the Bible is not wholly free from difficulties, and it is doubtful whether it is possible for all to understand every thing in it in precisely the same way. As a matter of fact, we know that they do not so understand it.

It is absurd, however, to suppose that the Bible teaches some eighty or more different systems of truth. And yet we have no less than that number of religious denominations in this country, all differing from each other in what they conceive to be important particulars. Now, why is this? Is it because of contradictions in the Bible? Surely not. Is it because of insurmountable difficulties? We do not think so. Is it because of the obliquity of men's moral perceptions? This, doubtless, has something to do with it, but *ought* not to account for the fact. But again: Is it because men are not honest, and allow their prejudices to control their interpretations of Divine Truth? It can not be denied that this has much to do in bringing men to a diversity of conclusions upon the subject of the Christian religion. But it is not a justifiable reason for the present distracted state of Christendom, nor can we *account* for the present state on this hypothesis. It is certainly fair to conclude that the majority of Christian people are honest, and take no delight in being wrong upon the most important subject with which they have to do. The question, then, again recurs: Can the Bible be infallibly understood? Can Christians all "speak the same thing," "be of the same mind, and the same judgment?"

Without entering particularly upon the subject of hermeneutics, we desire to suggest some principles, which, we think, if carefully observed, will conduct us to infallible certainty as to the meaning of the Bible *upon all matters that we need to understand*. First, then, we call attention to the following statement of M. Cousin:

"To-day, as in all time, two great wants are felt by man. The first, the most imperious, is that of fixed, immutable principles, which depend upon neither times, nor places, nor circumstances, and on which the mind reposes with an unbounded confidence. In all investigations, as long as we have seized only isolated, disconnected facts, as long as we have not referred them to a general law, we possess the materials of science, but there is yet no science. Even physics commence only when universal truths appear, to which all the facts of the same order that obser-

vation discovers to us in nature may be referred. Plato has said that there is no science of the transitory.

"This is our first need. But there is another, not less legitimate—the need of not being the dupe of chimerical principles, of barren abstractions, of combinations more or less ingenious, but artificial; the need of resting upon reality and life, the need of experience. The physical and natural sciences, whose regular and rapid conquests strike and dazzle the most ignorant, owe their progress to the experimental method, which is carried to such an extent that one would not now condescend to lend the least attention to a science over which this method should not seem to preside." \*

What is here stated is universally felt to be true. But how shall these wants be supplied? And if supplied, will they enable us to solve the problem of Biblical interpretation? Archimedes said that if he had a fulcrum for his lever he could raise the world from its center. This suggests the present need of hermeneutics. It has no reliable fulcrum—no fixed, immutable principles with which to begin an investigation. But these we must have if we ever arrive at infallible certainty in reference to the teachings of the Word of God.

Mr. Clarke gives us four rules, which he imagines is the panacea needed.

1. Apply to the Scriptures the same rules of interpretation which we use to determine the meaning of all other books.
2. The analogy of faith; or, the general belief of the Church in all ages.
3. Inquire what doctrines are acceptable, and what repulsive, to the natural feelings of the heart.
4. The experimental; or, a practical compliance with the will of God, so far as we now know it.

That these are valuable rules, or principles of interpretation, can not be doubted, especially the first and last. But they all fail to furnish the fulcrum necessary to reach infallible certainty.

Perhaps a few passages of Scripture may assist us in finding a true starting point in the work before us. "If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine." † "Then shall we know if we follow on to know the Lord." ‡ "In thy light shall we see light." § It will be seen from these passages that the *way* to knowledge is through "the obedience of faith." Faith and duty *first*, and *then* knowledge, is the Divine order. Hence, the words of Anselm are

\* Lectures on the True, the Beautiful, and the Good, pp. 40, 41.

† John vii, 17.

‡ Hos. vi, 3.

§ Psalm xxxvi, 9.



not only true, but furnish us the key to the whole subject of Biblical interpretation. He said: "I do not *know* in order that I may *believe*, but I *believe* in order that I may *know*." Mansel says: "Action, and not knowledge, is man's destiny and duty in this life; and his highest principles, both in philosophy and religion, have reference to this end." \* The trouble, however, with men is, they seek to know first, and to believe and do afterward. This is wholly unphilosophical and unscriptural, and has been the immediate or remote cause of all wrong interpretations of the Bible. When Adam was created he was made "upright," consequently the test of his fidelity to God was placed *beneath* him. "Thou shalt *not*" was the strong arm upon which he rested. Had he been called to a higher life it would not have so severely tried him. He was *positively* good, and *passive* in obedience—he had only to stand erect in the Divine image, and all would be well. But since the transgression, the test of faith has been placed on the other side of man, and now reads "thou shalt." His faith must now become *active*, and his obedience *positive*, in order that he may be restored to the Divine favor. *Knowledge* was placed before him by Satan, to induce him to transgress the will of God; *knowledge* is now placed before him by Christ, as an incentive to do that will. In the first case, knowledge subordinated faith—went before faith; but in the last case, faith must have the precedence. Hence, in the remedial system, faith and obedience are essential to membership in the Church of Christ, while knowledge is simply a means of *enjoyment*.

From the foregoing considerations we are now prepared to affirm that in studying the Bible we must determine:

1. Those things that are essential to Church membership.
2. Those things that will increase our enjoyment in the Church.

We have already seen that faith and obedience comprehend all that is necessary to the first; and that knowledge is a condition of the second. Hence, the whole question of Church-fellowship properly turns on this simple statement: *Faith in Christ, as the Son of the living God, and obedience to his commandments*. This confines the question to the domain of *faith*—where it rightfully belongs—and makes salvation, through the Church, possible to every creature. There need be no controversy concerning this simple test of Chris-

\* Limits of Religious Thought, p. 146.

tian fraternity, and there will be none, if knowledge is confined to its legitimate sphere, and is not allowed to start curious questions concerning what is purely a matter of faith. Hence, we conclude, that the Bible, so far as it relates to Church fellowship, may be infallibly understood, and that in reference to matters of faith, Christians every-where may "speak the same thing," may be "perfectly joined together," may "keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace."

But is it not possible that some may make mistakes in reference to even these simple matters? Doubtless. But this does not invalidate our claim for infallible certainty and perfect unity. We do not question the fact that many honest persons have failed to meet *all* the conditions of Church membership. They have done what they conscientiously felt was right in the premises. They have had the *spirit* of obedience; but have not fulfilled all the requirements of the *letter*.

Now, it will help us at this point to consider the fact that the Christian world is at present in an extraordinary state. Surely, the divisions which every-where disgrace the professed followers of Christ is not the normal condition of Christianity. Hence, in disposing of the honest failures of men to meet *all* the conditions of salvation, we must ever remember that this extraordinary state of things can not be overcome suddenly, but will require much time and patience before the faith and practice of the Primitive Church can be fully restored. Meanwhile, it is the duty of all who see the light to "contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints." But, at the same time, it is equally their duty to exercise *charity* toward all who are honestly striving to do the will of God, though their obedience may not be perfect in every respect.

This is the spirit of the movement in which we are engaged, and we think it is the spirit which should govern all who are laboring for a restoration of Apostolic Christianity. This was the spirit that animated the noble reformers of the last half century. They took into account the extraordinary condition of things. Hence, they did not expect a perfect restoration of Primitive Christianity in a day. They labored earnestly and patiently toward that end. Their religious movement sought to unite all who love the Lord Jesus Christ on the "one foundation of Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone." But they did not arbitrarily send

every body to perdition who did not accept their plea for reformation. Was their plea any the less grand on that account? Were their principles any the less true? We think not.

In justice to Alexander Campbell we deem it proper to give his views on this subject. We feel this to be necessary for two reasons:

1. There are those who, doubtless, honestly believe that it was Mr. Campbell's purpose to build up a narrow, sectarian, proscriptive party, whose business was to send every body to perdition who did not accept the dialect of the Reformation. We do not think there is any justifiable ground for such a conclusion; for whoever will take the trouble to look into the history of the movement with which he was connected, will soon see that this was not its spirit or intention. Nevertheless, as such an impression prevails in the minds of some, caused doubtless by misrepresentations of the character of the movement, we deem it necessary to make known the facts in the case.

2. There is another class, who see nothing in friendly overtures to the sects but "departure from the original purpose and spirit of the Reformation." Should some one affirm the possibility of the salvation of any who are not entirely out of the smoke of Babylon, and be disposed to fraternize with them to some extent, he would be at once declared "unsound," as "reforming the Reformation," "compromising with the sects," and, to make the case as hideous as possible, he would be declared an "expediency and progress man." It might be well for these exceedingly orthodox brethren to look over a little history of the past, and learn who it is they are denouncing before their peculiar style of speech becomes stereotyped.

The following article was written by Mr. Campbell, in 1837, at a time when he had reached his most mature manhood. It was written, as he subsequently tells us, to reprove some who were in the habit of "greatly and unreasonably abusing the sects, or countenancing, aiding, and abetting them that did so, and who made Christianity to turn more upon immersion than upon *universal holiness*."\* The article is a reply to a sister from Lunenburg, and is as follows:

"In reply to this conscientious sister I observe, that if there be no Christians in the Protestant sects, there are certainly none among the Romanists, none among the Jews, Turks, pagans; and, therefore, no Christians in the world except ourselves, or such of us as keep, or strive to keep, all the commandments of Jesus. Therefore, for many centuries, there has been no Church of Christ, no Christians

\* Millennial Harbinger. New Series. Vol. I. 1837. P. 566.

in the world; and the promises concerning the *everlasting* Kingdom of the Messiah have failed, and the *gates of hell have prevailed against his Church!* This can not be; and, therefore, there are Christians among the sects.

"But who is a Christian? I answer, every one that believes in his heart that Jesus of Nazareth is the Messiah, the Son of God; repents of his sins, and obeys him in all things, according to his measure of knowledge of his will. A *perfect man in Christ*, or a perfect Christian, is one thing; and a 'babe in Christ' a strippling in the faith, or an imperfect Christian, is another. The New Testament recognizes both the perfect man and the imperfect man in Christ. The former, indeed, implies the latter. Paul commands the imperfect Christians to be perfect, (2 Cor. iii, 2;) and says he wishes the perfection of Christians. 'And this also we wish,' for you *saints* in Corinth, 'even your perfection;' and again he says, 'We speak wisdom among the perfect,' (1 Cor. ii, 6;) and he commands them to be 'perfect in understanding,' (1 Cor. xiv, 20;) and in many other places implies or speaks the same things. Now, there is perfection of will, of temper, and of behavior. There is a perfect state and a perfect character; and hence, it is possible for Christians to be imperfect in some respects without an absolute forfeiture of the Christian state and character. Paul speaks of 'carnal' Christians, of 'weak' and 'strong' Christians; and the Lord Jesus admits that some of the good and honest-hearted bring forth only thirty-fold, while others bring forth sixty, and some a hundred-fold increase of the fruits of righteousness. \*

"But every one is wont to condemn others in that in which he is more intelligent than they; while, on the other hand, he is condemned for his Phariseeism, or his immodesty and rash judgment of others, by those that excel in the things in which he is deficient. I can not, therefore, make any one duty the standard of Christian state and character, not even immersion into the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, and in my heart regard all that have been sprinkled in infancy, without their own knowledge or consent, as aliens from Christ and the well-grounded hope of heaven. 'Salvation was of the Jews,' acknowledged the Messiah; and yet, he said of a foreigner—an alien from the commonwealth of Israel—a Syro-Phenician, 'I have not found so great faith; no, not in Israel.'

"Should I find a Pedobaptist more intelligent in the Christian Scriptures, more spiritually-minded, and more devoted to the Lord than a Baptist, or one immersed on a profession of the ancient faith, I could not hesitate a moment in giving the preference of my heart to him that loveth most. Did I act otherwise, I would be a pure sectarian, a Pharisee among Christians. Still, I will be asked, How do I know that any one loveth my Master but by his obedience to his commandments? I answer, *In no other way.* But mark, I do not substitute obedience to one commandment, for universal or even for general obedience. And should I see a sectarian Baptist, or a Pedobaptist, more spiritually-minded, more generally conformed to the requisitions of the Messiah than one who precisely acquiesces with me in the theory or practice of immersion as I teach, doubtless the former, rather than the latter, would have my cordial approbation and love as a Christian. So I judge, and so I feel. It is the image of Christ the Christian looks for and loves; and this does not consist in being exact in a few items, but in general devotion to the whole truth as far as known.

"With me mistakes of the understanding and errors of the affections are not to be confounded. They are as distant as the poles. An angel may mistake the

meaning of a commandment, but he will obey it in the sense in which he understands it. John Bunyan and John Newton were very different persons, and had very different views of baptism, and of some other things; yet, they were both disposed to obey, and, to the extent of their knowledge, did obey the Lord in every thing.

"There are mistakes with and without depravity. They are willful errors, which all the world must condemn, and unavoidable mistakes, which every one will pity. The Apostles mistook the Savior when he said, concerning John, 'What if I will that John tarry till I come?' But the Jews perverted his words when they alleged that Abraham had died, in proof that he spake falsely when he said, 'If a man keep my word he shall never see death.'

"Many a good man has been mistaken. Mistakes are to be regarded as culpable, and as declarative of a corrupt heart only when they proceed from a willful neglect of the means of knowing what is commanded. Ignorance is always a crime when it is voluntary; and innocent when it is involuntary. Now, unless I could prove that all who neglect the positive institutions of Christ, and have substituted for them something else of human authority, do it knowingly, or, if not knowingly, are voluntarily ignorant of what is written, I could not, I dare not say that their mistakes are such as unchristianize all their profession.

"True, indeed, that it is always a misfortune to be ignorant of any thing in the Bible, and very generally it is criminal. \*But how many are there who can not read; and of those who can read, how many are so deficient in education; and of those educated, how many are ruled by the authority of those whom they regard as superiors in knowledge and piety, that they never can escape out of the dust and smoke of their own chimney, where they happened to be born and educated! These all suffer many privations and many perplexities, from which the more intelligent are exempt.

"The preachers of '*essentials*,' as well as the preachers of '*non-essentials*,' frequently err. The essentialist may disparage the heart, while the non-essentialist despises the institution. The latter makes void the institutions of Heaven, while the former appreciates not the mental bias which God loveth most. My correspondent may belong to a class who think that we detract from the authority and value of an institution the moment we admit the bare possibility of any one being saved without it. But we choose rather to associate with those who think that they do not undervalue either seeing or hearing, by affirming that neither of them, nor both of them together, are essential to life. I would not sell one of my eyes for all the gold on earth; yet I could live without it.

"There is no occasion, then, for making immersion, on a profession of the faith, absolutely essential to a Christian, though it may be greatly essential to his sanctification and comfort. My right hand and my right eye are greatly essential to my usefulness and happiness, but not to my life; and as I could not be a perfect man without them, so I can not be a perfect Christian without a right understanding and a cordial reception of immersion in its true and Scriptural meaning and design. But he that thence infers that none are Christians but the immersed, as greatly errs as he who affirms that none are alive but those of clear and full vision.

"I do not formally answer all the queries proposed, knowing the one point to which they all aim. To that point only I direct these remarks. And while I would unhesitatingly say that I think that every man who despises any ordinance of

Christ, or who is willingly ignorant of it, can not be a Christian; still, I should sin against my own convictions should I teach any one to think that if he mistook the meaning of any institution while in his soul he desired to know the whole will of God, he must perish forever. But, to conclude for the present, he that claims for himself a license to neglect the least of all the commandments of Jesus, because it is possible for some to be saved, who, through insuperable ignorance or involuntary mistake, do neglect or transgress it; or he that willfully neglects to ascertain the will of the Lord to the whole extent of his means and opportunities, because some who are defective in that knowledge may be Christians, is not possessed of the spirit of Christ, and can not be registered among the Lord's people. So I reason, and I think, in so reasoning, I am sustained by all the Prophets and Apostles of both Testaments."\*

While we may not fully agree with the foregoing in every particular, it can not be denied that it fairly represents the spirit of the religious movement which had for its purpose the union of all the followers of Christ upon the Bible and the Bible alone. It is proper, however, to remark that Mr. Campbell never held these views as tests of fellowship with any one. They were simply his *opinions*, in reference to which men might conscientiously differ without in any way affecting their Christian character. He regarded the expression of them as important only so far as they might tend to give direction to the spirit of the great work in which he was engaged. But surely there is a lesson in what he has written for those who would now dogmatize concerning matters about which, to say the least, we can not be very certain. We think, furthermore, we have here some profitable suggestions to certain good men, who are determined not to be "indifferent to things indifferent" themselves—nor to let any one else be so, if they can help it. For, if such a man as Mr. Campbell was willing to exercise patience, forbearance, and brotherly kindness to persons who had failed to comply with one of the important conditions of the Gospel, it really does seem that we ought to be admonished to bear with one another when we differ only concerning the circumstantialia of religion.

As already seen, there is little or no apology for being wrong in matters of faith. Every thing is so plain that the "wayfaring man, though a simpleton, need not err therein." And were it not for the extraordinary condition of things in the religious world—for which the present generation is only partially responsible—we might reasonably hold every man strictly bound to obey implicitly *every*

\* Millennial Harbinger, 1837, pp. 411-414.



*condition of the Gospel.* But when we come to the dominion of knowledge—to that large number of questions which are not properly questions of faith—it is easy enough to see that there is much more room for misunderstanding; consequently, much more room for Christian *charity*.

It has been truly said that one of the infirmities of thought is "to commute the formal into material elements, to raise relations out of their proper category, and transport them into the category of things. This is the parent of metaphysics. It is often called the tendency to realize abstractions. Having combined certain elements of particular experiences into a single conception, we treat the concept as if it were an individual object."\* But the trouble is, in religious matters, we not only elevate our reasonings into things—veritable entities—but we make these the *tests of Christian fellowship*. Men go deliberately to work to make out a given case. They apply the rules of logic until the Aristotelian system trembles under the heavy weight laid upon it, and then, suddenly, a *conclusion* is reached. Now, no one ought to object to this, and we do not know that any one does. But just as suddenly this *conclusion* is elevated to a *test* of fellowship, and has all the force of a "*thus saith the Lord*." This is the thing to which we object; and this is the precise *origin of human creeds*. Surely, logic is not a thing to be feared, so long as it is confined to its legitimate sphere. But when we undertake to substitute the *deductions of human reason* for the plain statements of the Word of God, then it is that knowledge usurps the authority of faith, and human creeds become the bonds of religious union and communion. Then it is that the Bible ceases to be a rule of faith and duty, and becomes a mere debating ground for theological pugilists.†

We have now reached the main difficulty in taking the Word of God as a sufficient rule of faith and practice. The tendency of the human mind is either to speculate *about* what are properly matters

\* Lewes' History of Philosophy. Prolegomena. P. lxxix.

† "The testimony of Scripture, like that of our natural faculties, is plain and intelligible when we are content to accept it as a fact intended for our practical guidance: it becomes incomprehensible only when we attempt to explain it as a theory capable of speculative analysis. We are distinctly told that there is mutual relation between God and man as distinct agents; that God influences man by his grace, visits him with rewards or punishments, regards him with love or anger; that man, within his own limited sphere, is likewise capable of 'prevailing with God'; that his prayer may obtain an answer, his conduct call down God's favor or condemnation. There is nothing self-contradictory or even



of faith, or else to substitute *for* faith what legitimately belongs to knowledge. Hence, philosophy and science are made the tests of fellowship, instead of faith and obedience. But if we make a proper distinction between faith and knowledge, then we can claim for one *unity*, and for the other, *liberty*. In reference to that which is the *essential* thing, all can see alike; in reference to that which is simply *circumstantial*, all may differ. In essentials, unity; in circumstantials, liberty; and, in all things, charity, should be the Christian's motto. This, we believe, will be the motto of the Church of the future. Hence, we will all yet "come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ: that we henceforth be no more children, tossed to and fro, and carried about by every wind of doctrine, by the slight of men, and cunning craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive; but speaking the truth in love, may grow up into him in all things, which is the head, even Christ: from whom the whole body fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in love."\*

#### IV. THE CHURCH OF THE FUTURE WILL WEAR ONLY THE NAME OF ITS FOUNDER.

Denominational names was a shrewd invention of Satan for the propagation of sects. Nothing could have been better, as the history of sectarianism fully demonstrates. It is, however, a pleasing reflection that these names no longer possess cabalistic power. The day of their influence is rapidly passing away. And surely this should be a source of rejoicing to all who love the Lord Jesus Christ, and pray for the unity and peace of his people.

One of the curious phases of this matter is the character of the excuses made for these denominational names. Says one: "We

unintelligible in this, if we are content to believe *that* it is so, without striving to understand *how* it is so. But the instant we attempt to analyze the ideas of God as infinite and man as finite; to resolve the Scriptural statement into the higher principles on which their possibility apparently depends; we are surrounded on every side by contradictions of our own raising; and, unable to comprehend how the Infinite and the Finite can exist in mutual relation, we are tempted to deny the fact of that relation altogether, and to seek a refuge, though it be but insecure and momentary, in Pantheism, which denies the existence of the Finite, or in Atheism, which rejects the Infinite." (Limits of Religious Thought, pp. 145, 146.)

\* Eph. iv, 13, *et seq.*

must have these names, so that we may properly distinguish the various religious parties." But did it ever occur to this apologist that the very thing that needs to be done is to break down the distinctions he wants to keep up? We readily grant that if sects are to be substituted for the Church of Christ, party names are necessary; but these sects themselves are wrong, and, consequently, the names which they bring into use can not be successfully defended.

"But," says another, "such names are necessary, in order to avoid presumption. Should any one Church call itself the Church of Christ, that would be equivalent to unchurching all other religious people." Here is a clear specimen of Satan reproving sin. Think of a sectarian reproving any body for presumption! Such an idea would create a smile were it not that it is actually done. Sectarianism delivering lectures on charity is as amusing in itself as the consequences are fearful. Having usurped the place of the "one body," and having set itself up as the true exponent of Christian principles, its plea against presumption is as arrogant as it is ridiculous.

But is not the assumed modesty that rejects the New Testament name full of the suspicion that those who are guilty do not have a very abiding faith in the correctness of their religious position? Does it not indicate a want of certainty in the right to wear the name of Christ? Surely, if there was not something wrong here there would not be so much staggering at Primitive usage. A legitimate and dutiful wife never hesitates to wear the name of her husband, neither should the Church of Christ hesitate to wear the name of her husband. None but illicit claimants need tremble here.

But how can any religious people claim to be guided by the Word of God, and yet countenance the party names which are used to designate the respective sectarian organizations of the present time? Is such a thing possible? Where, in the New Testament, do we read of the "Protestant Episcopal Church," the "Methodist Episcopal Church," the "Presbyterian Church," the "Baptist Church," etc.? Echo answers, Where? Every intelligent, honest man knows well enough that no such names were known in Apostolic times. All these are of comparative modern origin, and are wholly unauthorized by the Christian Scriptures.

In answer to all this, we know that it is sometimes said, "there is nothing in a name." But, as a matter of fact, we know that there is.

And every man who is not hopelessly given up to a false theory must admit that there is. If there is nothing in a name, why use any at all? And, especially, why use different names?

But, we are further told, "It does not matter about the name we wear, so we are Christians." This sounds very well, but it has a fatal fallacy underlying it. "So we are Christians" is certainly the chief thing. But may we not fail *to be* Christians, so long as we carry about with us these strange gods? And may it not be that, having adopted these unscriptural names, our final reward will be *measured* by them? He that has been a *Presbyterian* shall receive a Presbyterian's *reward*, etc. However this may be, of one thing we are thoroughly convinced, namely: all these names are not only without divine authority, but are positively disrespectful to him who is given "to be head over all things to the Church, which is his body, the fullness of him that filleth all in all."\* And we are convinced, furthermore, that the signs of the times clearly indicate that earnest religious people are beginning to see the folly of these party designations, and, as a consequence, desire to be known only by the simple titles of the New Testament.

V. THE CHURCH OF THE FUTURE WILL BE A LIVE, ACTIVE, WORKING CHURCH.

While we are not prepared to admit that Protestantism, when compared with Infidelity or Romanism, is a failure; it is, nevertheless, an indisputable fact that most of the Protestant sects are making little or no progress in the conversion of the world. And we think it not unsafe to say that Protestantism, in its present inactive, lifeless condition, is wholly inadequate to the work of successfully contending against the Catholic and Rationalistic tendencies of the age. We have already stated that the religious contest of the future will require the disintegration of Protestantism as such; that all who love Christ more than party will unite upon the Bible and the Bible alone; that the Church of the future will be identical with the Primitive Church in faith and practice; and that the great religious struggle of the ages is yet to come, and will be between this Church, the Roman Apostasy, and the various forms of Infidelity as represented by modern Rationalism. Hence, in order that the Church may be successful in this struggle, it must be a live, active, working Church.

\* Eph. i, 22.

Among the Catholics and Rationalists there is just now unusual activity. While Rome is doing little or nothing in proselyting the American people, she is rapidly gaining political power. The immense influx of population from the Catholic countries of Europe gives to the Roman Church in the United States a very decided importance as a factor in our future politics. Politicians are not unmindful of the strength of this influence, and are already in the market, willing to sell our common-school system, and barter our free institutions, for the sake of political power. Just here is the point of danger, so far as Rome is concerned. The religious influence of Catholicism in this country amounts to comparatively nothing; it is only as a political organization that the Church of Rome is to be feared. Nor would we have any reason to fear even here, were it not that politicians, as a general rule, are

—“unco weak,  
And little to be trusted;”

especially when the Catholic vote is likely to be decisive in any important election. Romanism is *strong* in this country only because our politicians are *weak*. But this very fact gives courage to the managers of the Catholic Church, and has infused a new life into all the agencies of that Church.

Rationalism, however, is *religiously* active. Constantly receiving re-enforcements from the literature of the Old World, it is making a desperate effort to turn the whole tide of modern culture to the advantages of Infidelity. Nor is this effort without its results. The press is every-where teeming with books and periodicals whose life-blood is saturated with Rationalistic miasma. In the name of letters and science, this modern Infidelity is rapidly inoculating the people with its deadly poison. And, as a proof of its infective qualities, we need only state that many of the leading minds of the country are already completely under its influence. These men gravely tell us that Knowledge, not only chronologically comes *before* Faith, but that it does away with Faith entirely—rules it out of the religious category. But these are not all the facts in the case. It should be understood that a number of the most prominent men of New England—men whose writings, through various periodicals, reach almost all our firesides—have formed themselves into what they

call a "Free Religious Association," for the avowed purpose of actively propagating their Rationalistic doctrines. Surely it is high time the influence of their system was broken. But this can be done only by a united, earnest, and active Church—such a one as we believe the Church of the future will be.

Christianity, as now represented by Protestantism, lacks vital force. Its ministry has no enthusiasm, and its membership is a lifeless body. Preaching is too much a profession, and worship too much of a form of godliness, without its power. Whatever of earnestness there may be sometimes manifested, is generally expended in defending sectarian tenets, rather than in spreading the Gospel and upbuilding the disciples in faith, hope, and love.

It is useless to hope that this state of things will succeed. It is simply an impossibility. Hence, all who earnestly desire the conversion of the world, should at once abandon these sectarian organizations, and unite upon the "one foundation," accept the "one Lord, one Faith, and one Baptism," and then, animated by the "one hope," earnestly and actively work for the triumph of the *one* Church.

That we must ultimately come to this will not, we presume, be questioned by any right-thinking people. And that the signs of the times indicate a near approach of the period when we will have come to it, can not be reasonably doubted by those who are at all acquainted with current events. The effort to reunite the Old and New School Presbyterians is only a sign of the distress which is every-where felt among Protestants. What will come of that effort may not amount to much, but what it indicates *is worth a great deal*. We are just entering upon a great historic period for the Church. We feel that we hazard nothing in saying that within the next fifty years the battle for religious freedom will have been fought and won; the reign of Protestant sects will have terminated; and the Church of the future will have fairly entered upon her glorious mission. Then, and not till then, can we hope that despotic Romanism and insolent Rationalism will be overcome, and that the kingdoms of this world will become the kingdoms of our Lord Jesus Christ.

## II.—THE LIFE AND TIMES OF ALEXANDER CAMPBELL.

*Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, embracing a View of the Origin, Progress, and Principles of the Religious Reformation which he Advocated. By ROBERT RICHARDSON. Vol. I. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1868.

*Familiar Lectures on the Pentateuch*; Delivered before the Morning Class of Bethany College, during the Sessions of 1859-60, by ALEXANDER CAMPBELL. Also, Short Extracts from his Sermons during the same Session. Reported by CHAS. V. SEGAR, phonographer. To which is prefixed a Brief Sketch of President Campbell's Life. The whole edited, with an Introduction and Occasional Notes, by W. T. MOORE. Cincinnati: H. S. Bosworth. 1867.

WHEN God selects men to do his work he goes not among princes, nor among the aristocracy, nor among the highly favored of earth, but rising above the thoughts of men and the ways of men, he passes entirely beyond the tall and robust sons of Jesse, and chooses an obscure shepherd boy, like the noble-hearted and unsophisticated David, and, setting him before the people, he proclaims, *This is the man; anoint him.* God selects no cracked vessel in which to bear the incense of truth. He selects no man that can be bought with thirty pieces of silver. He picks men who can stand the test of fire. That man is a genius, and an elect minister of God, who, despite the trappings of glittering greatness, and without leaning on the blue blood of princely descent, and despite the patronage of plumed patricians, by means of the innate power of greatness and sanctified humanity, rises so high above the clouds of human strife, and pushes so far beyond the limits of worldly ambition, that no word of calumny can tarnish his fair fame, no envious heart can asperse his translucent life, no intelligent mind dare doubt the purity of his motive. We judge of the merits of men by what they have accomplished—not by their pretenses and brilliant parts. Many men have earned fame, but they have produced no grand results. They have made a noise in the world, but it was the noise of bluster and parade. By tricks of diplomacy and cunning device, which passes as patented greatness, mountebanks extort the praises of their fellows, and unstintingly receive the adulations of whipped-in fools. Many men have produced light, but none heat. They enlighten,

but they love not. They have struck off scintillations of genius and greatness from the golden wedge of love and truth, but the wedge itself they have never driven into the hearts of the people. They have traversed extended territories of truth and philosophy, but no vestiges of created good have they left behind as memorials of departed worth. Pretended regenerators of society have rolled in wealth, have lived in ease and magnificence, and have bestowed munificent gifts upon aristocratic establishments; but their riches and their greatness have been the poverty of the world.

Individualism is a marked feature in the development of modern society. Organized ecclesiasticism stands still and inoperative in the presence of the individual revolutionist. Centralized despotism melts away under the burning words of the approaching reformer. Organism may collect, but it is the individual that must distribute. Organisms become stagnant pools of disease and death, unless some disturber of the peaceful pool makes a *crevasse* and lets the water flow outward and downward. Individualism is the first mark of greatness. The man who moves the world is distinguished as idiosyncratic, because he drags himself and the people out of the deep grooves of supineness, and lassitude, and moral degradation. He moves in an orbit of his own—in an orbit where God placed him. Destiny drives that man forward; but he is neither influenced by motives of selfish expediency, nor is he actuated by considerations of worldly gain. He pushes right on, and all men gaze, and gape, and wonder at his marvelous success; he awaits not the appearance of a sluggish army; he tarries not for the adjustment of human organizations, nor wastes his time with mercenary combinations; he hesitates not till all men get ready; he consults not the horoscope of State policy, nor listens long to the pronounced oracles of a superstitious Church; but enthused with a high and glorious ambition, incited by the motive of effecting the greatest good for the greatest number, sworn to do right and to disobey wrong, pledged to protect and guide the innocent and to expose the guilty, and anointed to preach the glad tidings of salvation to the poor as the crowning jewel of all Christian graces, with the unalterable purpose of serving God, he pushes right on, overleaping the common obstacles of life, mounting every day to a higher degree of eminence, and despising alike the seductions of vice and the flatteries of



human praise, he finally stands high in the heavens, a crowned conqueror over all his foes! Hence, we say,

"The fame that a man wins himself is best ;  
That he may call his own : honors put on him  
Make him no more a man than his clothes do,  
Which are as soon ta'en off ; for in the warmth  
The heat comes from the body, not the weeds ;  
So man's true fame must strike from his own deeds."

Alexander Campbell landed in the city of New York, in the month of October, 1809—just sixty years ago. He was then twenty-three years of age. His birthplace was near Shane Castle, in the County of Antrim, Northern Ireland. His mother's ancestors were French Huguenots, who, having fled from their native country upon the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV, sought refuge, it appears, first in Scotland, whence they subsequently migrated to Ireland. As Nature fitted his body for endurance, and his brain for intense thought, so Providence directed his energies to inaugurate the grandest Reformation of modern days—no less than the destruction of sectarianism, simultaneous with the *restoration* of the Primitive Gospel. No unbiassed mind can fail to see now, since the revered subject of this sketch has gone to his great reward, that throughout his wonderful and eventful life he was the hero of a special guiding Providence. All the surroundings of his birth, all the associations of his early life, all the social, religious, and political peculiarities of the age in which he received his first impressions, prepared his massive mind and energized his great soul for the great mental conflict of the nineteenth century. Favored with strong natural endowments, without which he never could have passed through the ordeal to which he was subjected for half a century ; blessed with a father of the profoundest piety, of the finest scholastic attainments, a rare disciplinarian, and whose reverence for the Word of God was much more than ordinary ; instructed and cherished by a fond and affectionate mother—in whose veins flowed the blood of the brave Huguenot defenders of the faith—and whose soul was constantly ablaze with the love of God, and all of whose powers were consecrated to the Lord of Glory, and all of whose beautiful life was but the sweet-scented unfoldings of one grand and noble purpose—the education of her children for the skies—surely the world might justly antici-

pate the great things wrought by Alexander Campbell, and the mighty achievements gained by that illustrious soldier of the Cross. His first religious impressions, while yet but a youth, and while, according to his father's ardent desire, he contemplated entering into the ministry, and while, too, he was engaged in the study of theology and ecclesiastical history, are thus briefly but comprehensively portrayed in the *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, by the facile pen of Professor Richardson :

"While thus engaged he was filled with wonder at the strange fortunes of Christianity, and at the numerous divisions or parties in religious society. He found the Catholics, numerous in his own country, for the most part an ignorant, priest-ridden, superstitious people, crushed, as it were, to the earth, as well by their own voluntary submission to an unrestricted spiritual despotism, as by the pressure of the social and political burdens resting upon them, and which were esteemed by the Protestant and Anglo-Saxon part of the population as necessary safeguards against the repetition of such abuses of power as had occurred during the rule of James the Second, and his deputy, Tyrconnel. The young student, in contemplating the whole system of Romanism in its superstitions, its ceremonies, its spirit and practical effects, conceived for it the utmost abhorrence—a feeling which remained with him through life. On the other hand, the lordly and aristocratic Episcopalians, who looked down upon the dissenters, and seemed, with some exceptions, to have but little piety, and too fond of enjoying the pleasures, fashions, and follies of the world, were, notwithstanding their Protestantism, scarcely less disliked as a religious party. It was, however, when he came to consider the history of the Presbyterian Church, with its numerous divisions, in one of which he was himself a member, that he was enabled to form a clearer conception of the power and prevalence of that party spirit which it became afterward the labor of his life to oppose and overthrow."

Alexander Campbell was born and reared in a latitude where religious sects were numerous, manifesting much bitterness and hostility, and amid which sectarian scenes he early began to note the wide difference between mere groveling sectaries, and noble, pure-minded Christians. He breathed the atmosphere where flourished such Church dignitaries as Rowland Hill, the godly Haldanes, Alexander Carson, John Walker, besides other distinguished preachers who stood identified with Independency—the fundamental principle of which was the right of private judgment, the right of every member to judge for himself as to the meaning of Scripture, repudiating, also, the authority of Presbyteries, Synods, Assemblies, Conventions, and other Church Courts, and adopting a congregational form of government. These singular phases of the religion

of those days the youthful Campbell watched with an eager eye, and contemplated with great seriousness. While at the University of Glasgow, he studied Greek under the learned Professor Young; took lessons in Logic and Belles-Lettres under Professor Jardine; and also studied Experimental Philosophy in Dr. Ure's class, besides attending to Latin and French, and to English reading and composition, during which time he retired to bed at ten o'clock, P. M., and rose regularly at four in the morning.

"Professors Young and Jardine had been his father's teachers upward of twenty-five years before, and been also favorite professors with the poet Campbell, who had finished his course at Glasgow, his native city, in May, 1796, and who speaks of Jardine in his letters, as the 'amiable,' the 'benign,' the 'philosophic Jardine.' Professor Young, too, the profound grammarian and master of elocution, had taken great interest in the youthful poet, and used to read to his class, with enthusiasm, the elegant metrical versions of the Greek poets presented by his pupil, which constantly received the highest prizes. With these and other renowned professors, Alexander was greatly pleased, and the devoted attention which he gave to their instructions is amply attested by the large number of closely written volumes which he filled during the session with copious notes of their lectures, and with his own translations from the Iliad of Homer, the *Œdipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles, etc., together with numerous essays and exercises in prose and verse, handed in to the professors in his various classes as regular exercises." \*

As we are anxious that our religious contemporaries should know the very incipency of the plea the disciples of Christ are making in favor of an entire *restoration* of the Apostolic Gospel, with which plea Alexander Campbell stood identified as the acknowledged leader; and, also, that they, and all whom it may concern, may know the peculiar and providential circumstances in the midst of which that thought germinated—unconsciously to the great reformer of the nineteenth century—the full unfolding and spreading of which are now apparent throughout the wide borders of sectarianism, we subjoin another pictured paragraph from the tenth chapter of this same volume:

"The power of surrounding circumstances," says the gifted biographer, "to mold human character is familiar to all, and it is one of the most interesting points in the lives of those who have become distinguished in any particular field of labor to note the methods by which Divine Providence has thus often prepared their hearts and minds for the sphere for which they were designed, and changed or modified their own purposes and plans until these were in harmony with their appointed life-work. It was, as formerly stated, the cherished desire of Thomas

\* "Memoirs of Alexander Campbell," pp. 131-2.

Campbell that his son Alexander should become a minister of the Gospel in the Seceder denomination, to which he belonged; and in this arrangement Alexander seems to have acquiesced, rather from respect to his father's wishes than from any original purpose of his own. It was not until he encountered the perils of the shipwreck that, as formerly stated, he finally resolved, from his own convictions of duty, to devote himself to the ministry, in pursuance of which determination he was now attending his preliminary course at the University. Thus far every thing seemed tending toward the end so much desired by Thomas Campbell, who, having received intelligence of the shipwreck, [Thomas having emigrated to America two years in advance of Alexander,] and the consequent delay of the family at Glasgow, had written to them a letter full of affectionate solicitude and consolation, and highly commending all their proposed arrangements. But Alexander's stay at Glasgow, while it left his main purpose unaltered, was destined to work an entire revolution in his views and feelings in respect to the existing denominations, and to disengage his sympathies entirely from the Seceder denomination and every other form of Presbyterianism. This change seems to have been occasioned chiefly through his intimacy with Greville Ewing. This gentleman seemed to take special interest in Alexander and in the family, and performed so many kind offices in their behalf that he became greatly endeared to them. Alexander was frequently at Mr. Ewing's to dinner or tea, where he formed many agreeable intimacies with the guests at his hospitable board, and acquired, during this intercourse, an intimate knowledge of Mr. Ewing's previous religious history, and that of his coadjutors, the Haldanes, and others. As the facts thus presented to Mr. Campbell produced a lasting effect upon his mind, it will be necessary to present a brief sketch of them, and of the eminent men concerned in the reformatory movement then progressing in Scotland—a movement from which Mr. Campbell received his first impulse as a religious reformer, and which may be justly regarded, indeed, as the *first phase* of that religious reformation which he subsequently carried out so successfully to its legitimate issues."

The religious movement of the Haldanes alluded to in the above paragraphs, and in which the magnanimous and erudite Ewing placed his life and fortune, was, in Scotland, essentially the same in principles as the religious movement in America, of which, by common consent, Alexander Campbell became the agitator. It will be seen, by the foregoing citations of history, of which, for want of space, we can only give a few of the many incidents connected with the early life of our subject, that no young man ever enjoyed greater privileges for improvement, nor stood associated with a more renowned class of men, than Mr. Campbell; and we might add, with great pertinency, that no man in modern days ever made better improvement of such privileges, nor gained greater advantages by associating with, and learning of, good and great men, nor economized and appropriated time to more glorious aims and ends than he.

Next, let us note briefly the wonderful changes that transpired in the United States soon after the young Alexander joined his father, (after a painful separation of two years,) in the town of Washington, Penn., where, in the providence of God, and we doubt not, *by the guidance of God*, the Reformation assumed organic shape, since which eventful period this vine, healthful, and vigorous, and fruitful, has overrun every sectarian wall, has lifted its fair branches in every valley, has sent its fragrance to the isles of the sea, has shot across the peaks of the highest mountains, has shed its perfume at the door of the lowliest hut, has blown its sweetest blossoms in the green gardens of the great.

Thomas Campbell, when he settled in Washington, Penn., connected himself with the Presbytery of Chartiers, but which connection he soon dissolved, because of the misrepresentation and positive persecution he received at the hands of his ministerial brethren of the Seceder Church; which evil treatment was occasioned because of the high ground taken by the generous-hearted Thomas Campbell in favor of Christian liberty and Christian union, and also declaring, in the most unequivocal terms, that the Bible should be his only rule of faith and practice. By planting himself upon a basis as broad and catholic as this, he subjected himself to the jealousy of the narrow-minded and illiberal clergy, and, in consequence of illiberality, he is made to stand a trial in the presence of the so-called Presbytery. He appeals to the Synod, which grave body, in their solemn deliberations, revoked the decision of the Presbytery, but with certain equivocal explanations. After enduring hostility and espionage for a considerable length of time, and after being fully convinced that his motives were not at all appreciated by the very persons he sought to benefit, he felt bound to forever abandon the Seceder Church, in which he was educated, and among whose people he had lived in the closest intimacy from childhood. \* From this time forward he strikes for Christian union in opposition to partyism and party platforms. He goes to work to define the principle of Christian union, declares in favor of religious emancipation, and forms a "society"—*not* a Church—for the promotion of simple evangelical Christianity.

It was but a short time after these events transpired that Thomas Campbell prepared his "*Declaration and Address*"—the most remarkable production that was ever penned by human instrumentality.

If he had never accomplished any thing else, this alone was sufficient to immortalize his name, which immortality he now enjoys as justly as that which rests upon the brow of Luther, who, in 1517, in opposition to superstitious dogmas and Papal usurpations, posted on the door of the Church at Wittemberg his ninety-five Theses. As these wonderful Theses of Martin Luther have never ceased to agitate the religious world, nor to disturb the fancied security of clerical despotisms, so shall the "*Declaration and Address*" of Thomas Campbell never cease to enlighten the public mind on individual right and liberty, nor cease to call good men and women from sectarian slavery to the liberty of the children of God. Alexander, on hearing the proof-sheets of this powerful document read by his father, at once adopted it, entered into the full spirit of its contents, and in after life consecrated all his noble powers to the advocacy of the evangelical principles it contained. Like Luther and Wesley, neither Thomas nor Alexander Campbell contemplated the formation of a new party, a distinct Church organization—they only aimed to suppress a bigoted, sectarian spirit in the Presbyterian Church, to rectify theological blunders as fostered in that body, and to produce a co-operation of all evangelical Christians in every good work. For publishing these Bible principles, the elder Campbell suffered reproach, and contumely, and defamation of the meanest type. After having abandoned "all ministerial connection" with the Synod as an authoritative body, and boldly announcing that henceforth he should be "utterly unaffected by its decisions," he continued to preach with great acceptance to large numbers of the most intelligent and liberal-minded people in that community, who, also, having become disgusted with the evils of sectarianism, now gladly rallied about this renowned advocate of reform. As soon as the paper containing the *Declaration and Address* was ready, the distinguished author announced a special meeting, in order that he might present a lucid and distinct statement of the principles of a proposed reformation, which the times and the circumstances imperatively seemed to demand.

"The time appointed having arrived, there was a very general assembling at the place designated. All seemed to feel the importance of the occasion, and to realize the responsibilities of their position. A deep feeling of solemnity pervaded the assembly when Thomas Campbell, having opened the meeting in the usual manner,



and, in earnest prayer, specially invoked the Divine guidance, proceeded to rehearse the matter from the beginning, and to dwell with unusual force upon the manifold evils resulting from the divisions in religious society—divisions which, he urged, were as unnecessary as they were injurious, since God had provided, in his Sacred Word, an infallible standard, which was all-sufficient, and alone sufficient, as a basis of union and Christian co-operation. He showed, however, that men had not been satisfied with its teachings, but had gone outside of the Bible, to frame for themselves religious theories, opinions, and speculations, which were the real occasions of the unhappy controversies and strifes which had so long desolated the religious world. He therefore insisted, with great earnestness, upon the return to the simple teachings of the Scriptures, and upon the entire abandonment of every thing in religion for which there could not be produced a Divine warrant. Finally, after having again and again reviewed the ground they occupied in the reformation, which they felt it their duty to urge upon religious society, he went on to announce, in the most simple and emphatic terms, the great principle or rule upon which he understood they were then acting, and upon which he trusted they would continue to act, consistently and perseveringly, to the end. 'That rule, my highly respected hearers,' said he, in conclusion, is this: that 'WHERE THE SCRIPTURES SPEAK, WE SPEAK; AND WHERE THE SCRIPTURES ARE SILENT, WE ARE SILENT.'

"Upon this annunciation a solemn silence pervaded the assembly. Never before had religious duty been presented to them in so simple a form. Never before had the great principle on which this religious enterprise rested been so clearly presented to their minds. It was to many of them as a new revelation, and those simple words, which embodied a rule so decisive of all religious strifes and of all distressing doubts, were forever engraven upon their hearts. Henceforth, the plain and simple teaching of the Word of God itself was to be their guide. God himself should speak to them, and they should receive and repeat his words alone. No remote inferences, no fanciful interpretations, no religious theories of any kind were to be allowed to alter or pervert its obvious meaning. Having God's Word in their possession, they must speak it faithfully. There should be no contention, henceforth, in regard to the opinions of men, however wise or learned. Whatever private opinions might be entertained upon matters not clearly revealed must be retained in silence, and no effort must be made to impose them upon others. Thus, the *silence* of the Bible was to be respected equally with its revelations, which were by Divine authority declared to be able to 'make the man of God perfect, and thoroughly furnished to every good work.' Any thing more, then, must be an incumbrance. Any thing else than 'the whole counsel of God' would be a dangerous deficiency. Simply, reverentially, confidently, they would speak of Bible things in Bible words, adding nothing thereto and omitting nothing given by Inspiration. They had thus a clear and well-defined basis of action, and the hearts of all who were truly interested re-echoed the resolve, '*Where the Scriptures speak, we speak; where the Scriptures are silent, we are silent.*' It was from the moment when these significant words were uttered and accepted that the more intelligent afterward dated the *formal and actual commencement of the Reformation*, which was subsequently carried on with so much success, and which has already produced such important changes in religious society over a large portion of the world." \*

\* "Memoirs of Alexander Campbell," Chap. xiii.



Here we date the beginning of the wonderful career of Alexander Campbell. From this time forth he becomes the great defender of the faith. When Alexander heard read the "*Declaration and Address*," he predicted, at that remote day, that the principles contained in that document would thoroughly revolutionize the public mind, affirming that, "in the *Bible alone*, you will never find infant baptism, and some other things practiced by us. The restoration of Primitive Christianity will work a mighty revolution." The avowed object of this very intellectual and comprehensive document, as presented by Thomas Campbell, was "*the restoration of pure, Primitive, Apostolic Christianity, in letter and spirit, in principle and practice.*" In order to carry out more effectively the principles of the Declaration, "The Christian Association of Washington" was formed. In harmony, therefore, with the published sentiments of the Declaration, a society of Christians was formed—not to be regarded as a Church—for the promotion of Christian union, and to induce a "pure evangelical reformation, by the simple preaching of the Gospel, and the administration of its ordinances in exact conformity to the Divine standard."

"There are few, in fact, of the present generation, who have grown up under the liberalizing institutions of the United States, and the more enlightened views of Christianity since presented, who can form a proper idea of the virulence of the party spirit which then prevailed. Each party strove for supremacy, and maintained its peculiarities with a zeal as ardent and persecuting as the laws of the land and the usages of society would permit. The distinguishing tenets of each party were constantly thundered from every pulpit, and any departure from the 'traditions of the elders' was visited at once with the severest ecclesiastical censure. Covenanting, Church politics, Church psalmody, hyper-Calvinistic questions were the great topics of the day; and such was the rigid, uncompromising spirit prevailing, that the most trivial things would produce a schism, so that the old members were known to break off from their congregations, simply because the clerk presumed to give out, before singing, *two* lines of a psalm instead of *one*, as had been the usual custom. Against this slavish subjection to custom, and to opinions and regulations that were merely of human origin, Mr. Campbell had long felt it his duty to protest, and knowing no remedy for the sad condition of affairs existing, except in a simple return to the plain teachings of the Bible as alone authoritative and binding upon the conscience, he, and those associated with him, felt it incumbent upon them to urge this upon religious society. This they endeavored to do in a spirit of moderation of Christian love, hoping that the overture would be accepted by the religious communities around, especially by those of the Presbyterian order, whose differences were, in themselves, so trivial. In regard to the basis of Christian union as defined in the Address, to which frequent reference has been made, so conclusive and overwhelming were the arguments

presented, and 'so fully and so kindly was every possible objection considered and refuted, that *no attempt was ever made by the opposers of the proposed movement to controvert directly a single position which it contained.*'" \*

Alexander Campbell delivered his first sermon in America at Brush Run, Washington county, Penn., in the month of May, 1810. His text upon that occasion was from the closing of the Savior's sermon on the Mount, beginning with these words: "Therefore, every one that heareth these sayings of mine," etc. The entire audience was electrified by the analytic powers and burning eloquence of this new advocate of reform, and the people departed perfectly captivated by his apparent candor and fearlessness. His fame soon extended far and wide, and the excitement to hear the powerful pleader became intense. When Mr. Campbell preached his sermon, his father and James Foster were the only official ministers of the Gospel recognized in the movement for reform, and the two small churches, located respectively at Cross-Roads and Brush Run, were the only ones which stood identified with these new reformers. Out of such small beginnings does Providence evoke the grandest results. Mr. Campbell's reverence for the Word of God, his critical examinations of the plan of redemption, and his determination to take nothing but the Oracles of God for his rule of faith and practice, as well as his renunciation of sectarian dogmatisms, led him, by degrees, to restore and observe the Communion on every Lord's day, as in primitive times; to discard infant baptism for want of Scriptural evidence; to reject the Papal dogma of sprinkling, also for the same reason: these corrections he made, and others equally important, which we shall yet mention, while as yet his little band of brethren were unknown to the world, at a time when his party were in a fearful minority, without prestige, without power, and without the hope of worldly gain. But the Lord bestowed upon those brave defenders of the faith grace and glory, and no good thing did he withhold from them.

Alexander Campbell had thoroughly mastered the contents of his father's Address, as is abundantly made manifest in such utterances as the following:

"That—in order to Church union and communion—nothing ought to be inculcated upon Christians as articles of faith, nor required of them as terms of com-

\* "Memoirs of Alexander Campbell," p. 245.

munion, but what is expressly taught and enjoined upon them in the Word of God. Nor ought any thing to be admitted, as Divine obligation, in their Church constitution and management, but what is expressly enjoined by the authority of our Lord Jesus Christ and his Apostles upon the New Testament Church; either in expressed terms, or by approved precedent."

It must not be supposed that Thomas and Alexander Campbell abandoned their old associations without a struggle, and that they entered upon this reformatory movement with alacrity and delight. Their mental conflicts were many and severe. It was not until they studied the Word of God devoutly and conscientiously, with a view of arriving at the truth, and not until they had examined every feature of the proposed reformation with a scrutinizing eye, that they embarked in the glorious enterprise for a life-work, meanwhile looking to God for guidance and wisdom. It was a sore struggle for the elder Campbell to give up sprinkling, besides some other unscriptural practices, but the principles of his own masterly Address compelled him to follow the light of God's Word. After having fully satisfied themselves that there was no authority whatever for infant baptism, and also that none but believers were commanded to be immersed, a meeting was appointed, which lasted *seven hours*, when both Thomas and Alexander Campbell reviewed the entire ground of baptism *in extenso*, presenting in full the reasons which had determined their course. It was in the month of June, 1812, that Alexander Campbell and his wife, his father and mother, and his sister, together with Mr. Hanen and his wife, were immersed in the waters of Buffalo Creek by Mr. Luce.

In the course of a few years, subsequent to this event, some five or six congregations sprung up in Washington County, Pennsylvania, and the adjacent part of Virginia; and about the year 1815 these congregations conjointly applied for admission into the Red Stone Baptist Association, and were received, with the explicit understanding that they shall not be obliged to subscribe to any human creed or confession of faith, but that they be held amenable alone to the Word of God, in all things pertaining to faith and practice. Their connection with this Association excited the jealousy and malice of the Baptist clergy, who, from time to time, spared no pains in disparaging the ability and influence of the Campbells, and who continued to oppose their noble efforts, in such a way as only bigoted priests can understand, until finally these feeble Churches, out of self-respect,

withdrew from the Red Stone Association, and at once united with the Mahoning Association, which was known to possess a more generous spirit. It was while Mr. Campbell was connected with the Red Stone Association that he delivered his famous *Sermon on the Law*, in which he ran a parallel between the Law and the Gospel, between the nature and design of the Mosaic dispensation and the Christian dispensation, and which, on account of the high-toned Scriptural principles the sermon contained, excited a terrible commotion among the Baptists, and which, in a special manner, provoked the clergy to the most relentless opposition. Space will not allow us to present here the unworthy means resorted to in the Red Stone Association, on the part of the envious clergy, to bring Alexander Campbell and his congregations into disrepute, and the low artifices they employed in order to exclude the "six congregations that had come in with the Campbells." Having satisfied himself that a certain kind of parliamentary trick was about to be sprung upon him, Alexander Campbell immediately proposed to the congregations sought to be ejected, that they peaceably and forever withdraw, and thus avoid all further strife with that Association. This proposition was concurred in by all, and before the next annual meeting they had all united with the Mahoning Association. Here they found a congenial home. Providence smiled upon them propitiously. In a few years this Association cast off all ecclesiastical power and clerical prerogatives, and substituted therefor an annual meeting of sister Churches, from which circumstances we date the origin of what is known at the present time as "big meetings," where all met then, as they meet now, without any lines of distinction, upon one common plane of Christian equality.

Here was the rising tide of the great reformation. Up to this period the subject of this sketch was largely engaged in agricultural pursuits, for which he had both taste and aptness, and in which pursuit he was exceedingly prospered; but now he enters into the field evangelical with all the force of his native abilities, and responding to Macedonian calls in every direction, he buckles on the armor of God, and without the fear or favor of man, sounds out the Word of the Lord and proclaims the day of deliverance from sacerdotal and sectarian bondage. His first utterances fell like divine oracles, as when, for instance, he declared that "*Christian unity can result from*

nothing short of the destruction of creeds and confessions of faith, inasmuch as human creeds and confessions have destroyed Christian unity;" and that "whenever the setting aside of creeds and confessions shall be attempted, Christians will give to the world, and to angels, and to themselves, proof that they do believe the Word of God." Advocating such provoking principles, boldly challenging investigation upon the Word of God, despising all worldly honor, and courting the applause of no ecclesiastical court, Alexander Campbell, early in life, became the recognized champion of an aggressive party, the vindicator of a principle which in fifty years should turn the ecclesiastical world upside down.

Behold, now, the life-work of fifty years! Did mortal man ever achieve more in the same length of time? On what page of Church history will you find a brighter record? Mark, in the sequel, the grand results of a long and eventful life wholly consecrated to the service of God. As Luther, in his day, restored to the people the key of Bible knowledge, so Campbell, in his day, put into the hands of the people the key of Bible interpretation. Let any one read that masterly production, entitled the "Christian System," in which is found a systematic delineation of the nature and design of the Patriarchal, Jewish, and Christian dispensations, and a grand and sublime portraiture of the Moral Government of God, if he wants to be captivated by, and fall in love with, the glorious scheme of redemption, which, on the sparkling pages of that beautiful book, is made so perspicuous, and rendered so convincing, that he who runs may read and comprehend. Luther announced the joyful news that the Bible belonged to the people; Campbell has demonstrated the fact that man can make the Bible its own interpreter, by faithfully and sincerely studying its contents.

In 1823, Mr. Campbell began his career as a journalist and a publisher, by establishing the "*Christian Baptist*," a monthly periodical, devoted to the defense and propagation of the Apostolic Gospel. He continued this serial for seven years, but the entire work appears now in book form. The marrow and fatness of the wisdom and learning of the great polemic will be found in this work, the reading of which, from time to time, has induced thousands to abandon parties and party names, and simply to bear the exhaustless name *Christian*. For the benefit of those persons who take pleasure in repre-

senting that Campbell was an Arian or a Socinian, we here make the bold denial by alleging that sounder, grander, profounder, and more convincing arguments, on the Divinity of Christ, never were presented by human instrumentality than are found in this transcendent work. Campbell was not a controversialist from choice, as many have supposed; but in consequence of the independent position he assumed, as a faithful expounder of the Word of God, and also in consequence of his exposing error and denouncing evil of all kinds, he was necessarily provoked into many religious controversies which marked here and there the course of his busy life. In 1830 the *Christian Baptist* was succeeded by the *Millennial Harbinger*, which he conducted, as its editor-in-chief, till the close of the year 1863.

Mr. Campbell's first public debate was with the Rev. John Walker, a minister of the Seceder Church, in the year 1820, at Mt. Pleasant, Ohio. The debate was on the action and subject of baptism. His second debate was with Rev. Wm. M'Calla, a Presbyterian clergyman, on the subject of "Christian Baptism," which occurred in 1822, in Washington, Kentucky. His third debate, in Cincinnati, in 1829, on the "*Evidences of Christianity*," with Robert Owen, the notorious skeptic, who challenged the Protestant world to defend the Bible, stands without a parallel in respect to profundity of thought, the accumulation of testimony, and the overwhelming power of the argument, his antagonist being entirely discomfited, while the friends of the Bible, without respect to party, abounded in rejoicings and thanksgivings. His fourth debate, in the same city, in 1836, was with Bishop (now Archbishop) Purcell, on the entire subject of "*Roman Catholicism*," the result of which extraordinary discussion was watched with eager eyes and bated breath throughout large portions of the United States. His fifth oral debate, held in the city of Lexington, Kentucky, in 1843, with Dr. N. L. Rice, extending through eighteen days, was unquestionably the most exhaustive of all his debates, embracing within its wide compass these absorbing subjects: "The Action, Subject, Design, and Administration of Christian Baptism;" "The Character of Spiritual Influence in Conversion and Sanctification;" and also "The Expediency and Tendency of Ecclesiastical Creeds, as Terms of Union and Communion." This debate was honored with the presence of Henry Clay as presiding moderator; and it was also upon this occasion that Henry Clay, the great



Commoner, pronounced Alexander Campbell to be the profoundest theologian of the age, the most eloquent speaker, and the most expert polemic. In addition to these oral debates, he had two written debates in the *Harbinger*, one with Bishop Semple, and one with Rev. Mr. Skinner, a prominent Universalist preacher.

"His debate with the celebrated Owen, the zealous and talented propagandist of Infidel sociology, deserves additional notice. Owen published a challenge to the clergy of the whole country to meet him in debate on his peculiar belief. He put it forth in New Orleans, and no one dared or cared to take it up. Finally, it fell under the eye of Alexander Campbell, and he at once resolved to accept it. Speaking of this challenge he says, 'I have long wondered why none of the public teachers of Christianity have appeared in defense of the "last, best hope of mortal man." I have felt indignant at the aspect of things in reference to this libertine and lawless scheme, and relying on the author, the reasonableness, and the excellency of the Christian religion, I will meet him in debate.' This, as well as the discussion with Archbishop Purcell, was a labor which Mr. Campbell felt he owed to Christendom. They were, in no exclusive sense, connected with the special work of reformation to which he was more particularly devoted. His important defense of the truth of Christianity against the Infidel attacks of Owen, and his even greater vindication of Protestantism against Romanism, deserve the gratitude of the Christian world. He stood, in both of these conflicts, as the champion of evangelical truth, and his overwhelming assaults upon these two decided foes of pure Christianity will ever be remembered as forming an era in the victories of the true Church of God."\*

Up to the year 1840, the subject of this paper had made many extensive tours through many States of the Union, and, by this means, obtained much useful information in respect to the wants of the times. He had toiled unceasingly day and night, at home in his studio, abroad in the field evangelical, talking by the fireside, and pleading on the public stage, writing theses when others were asleep, and responding to letters from all parts of the globe. Thus, for many years he devoted sixteen hours per day to the cause of Christ, and for the amelioration of the human family. Alexander Campbell had now become the most eminent and successful reformer of modern times, and the horizon of his influence had widened to such an extent that he was hailed every-where as the "bright, particular star" of a mighty multitude of people, who were now ready to abandon the fields of sectarianism, and to plant themselves upon the Bible alone. Men are living yet who can testify that they walked twenty and thirty miles to hear this great defender of faith preach, and to hear him

\* "Lectures on the Pentateuch," p. 31.



expound the Word of God as they had never heard it expounded before. Congregations of Disciples had been established in nearly every State in the Union. The wondrous powers of the invincible disputant attracted thousands to hear him in his magnificent generalizations. Inspired by the eloquence of the great declaimer, awakened by the intensity of the truth, charmed by the beauty and simplicity of the glorious Gospel, animated by the theme of Divine love as they never heard it before, and stirred up to the deepest depths of their souls by the grand conclusions of reason and revelation, many men became oblivious of themselves, and scores of them deserted field, and shop, and rostrum, and forum, that they, too, might preach the same glad tidings of salvation to a fallen world. Many of his coadjutors were not men of scholastic training nor of refined manners, but they were mighty in the Scriptures, and a terror to evil doers. Some of these renowned pleaders still linger among us.

In 1840, Mr. Campbell founded Bethany College, in which enterprise, in order to make sure its success and permanency, he invested largely of his own private means. From 1841 to the last day of his mortal existence, he was honored as President of this magnificent institution. To him belonged the honor and the credit of introducing, for the first time, the Bible, *as a text-book*, into an American college. It has proved a wonderful success. Three hundred graduates—many of them men of distinction and of great power—a reproduction of the presiding genius of Bethany College—scattered throughout the civilized world, can bear testimony to the infinite value and profound pleasure of the Bible Lectures delivered at the “morning lesson,” year in and year out. Let any one read the work before us, entitled *Lectures on the Pentateuch*, if he desires to get an idea of the nature and import of those transcendent expositions of Scripture, and to form some estimate of the Divine philosophy and the amazing philanthropy of the plan of redemption as elucidated by the learned expositor. This enterprise the President had cherished for many years—it was the dream of his life; it was the consummation of his earthly ambition—a sacred spot where he could educate a ministry in harmony with the doctrine of the Bible, and to meet the wants of the age. Most ample was his reward before he passed away. Some of the graduates of Bethany College are presidents and professors in other colleges, resting upon the same

Bible foundation, teaching the same things, and reproducing men of the same invincible spirit, who have gone forth by hundreds to do battle for the Lord. Some have become eminent as writers and journalists, and stand at the head of the profession. Others are proclaiming the ancient Gospel beyond the mountains of the East, and over the wide prairies of the West, and beyond the savannas of the South, and not a few have penetrated to the far-off isles of the sea, whose voices re-echo the victories of the Cross.

Alexander Campbell would have excelled as a statesman, but he chose rather to serve God than Cæsar. In the winter of 1829-30 he served as a member of the convention which met in Richmond to amend the Constitution of the State of Virginia, and while serving in that capacity he associated with such intellectual giants as ex-President Madison, Chief-Justice Marshall, John Randolph, of Roanoake, and Philip Doddridge. He would have excelled as a *litterateur*. His popular addresses before different colleges and literary associations present the most indubitable evidence that he not only understood the law of Moses, and was versed in the wisdom of Solomon, but that he was fully conversant with the times of Cicero and Demosthenes, as well as with all the literary characters of the days of Ben Jonson, to say nothing of his intimate acquaintance with the *illuminati* of modern times.

It may be pertinent, in this connection, to raise the question, In what respects have Mr. Campbell and his coadjutors improved upon Christianity as they found it? We answer, briefly:

1. In the adjudication of every controverted, Scriptural question their appeal is "To the Law and to the Testimony."

2. In matters of faith and obedience, they discriminate between fact and opinion. The order of the Gospel is this: we receive and believe the facts of the Gospel; we obey the commands of the Gospel; we enjoy the promises of the Gospel. Opinions are to be held as private property; they never must be made a test of Christian fellowship, nor be imposed on any one as necessary to an admittance into the body of Christ.

3. They accept the Bible as the only rule of faith and practice, rejecting all human creeds as divisive of the Lord's people, and repudiating all denominational platforms as being entirely subversive of the Apostolic order of things.

4. They contend for the Scriptural identification of the Church of Christ, maintaining that to call the Church of Christ the *Methodist* Church, or the *Baptist* Church, or the *Presbyterian* Church, and so on, is an open insult to the authority of Him who is the head of the "One Body."

5. They reject infant baptism and sprinkling as outgrowths of Papal usurpation, and maintain that immersion is the "one baptism" set forth in the New Testament, and that, according to the original Greek, it is the exclusive mode.

6. They positively assert, by the authority of inspired teaching, that "*the Gospel is the power of God* in order to salvation," and deny, because of the total absence of evidence, that, in conversion, God exerts a special and direct influence above and beyond the Word of God in regenerating the hearts of sinners. They teach that "the Word of God is the seed of the Kingdom;" that the life-imparting power of the Gospel is found in the Word of Truth; and that it is "*the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus that makes us free.*" Consequently, they go straight against "experiences," and "special revelations," and "dreams," and "vain imaginations," and phantasms generally, as only serving the purpose of mystifying the entire Scheme of Redemption. They are also stoutly opposed to the conceit that a certain *state of feelings*, superinduced by a super-excited imagination, must be received as an evidence of pardon, instead of *the evidence* of God's Word.

7. They teach, and with special emphasis, that the minister of the Gospel should explain Bible things and thoughts in Bible phraseology, discarding all scholastic terms and all theological technicalities, as only serving to bewilder, instead of enlightening, the common mind.

8. The great thought of Mr. Campbell's life, toward which he bent all his energies, was, as it is now, the controlling thought of the Disciples of Christ, the union of all Christians—not upon a sectarian platform, not upon a "denominational" basis, but upon the exclusive teaching of Christ and his Apostles. They plead not for the union of God's people in some great reformer, but *in Christ*, as head over all things to the Church, which is his body. This plea for union has been savagely opposed by the clergy of all denominations, because they well know that if the contemplated union should be

realized, their occupation in sustaining sectarian parties would be gone. But one fact is patent to all intelligent people, which is, that there is not a religious body of people in existence, Protestant or Catholic, but what has been, and now is, more or less influenced to correct their doctrine and ecclesiastical divergencies in pursuance of the plea made by Alexander Campbell and his coadjutors.

The "Disciples of Christ"—who profess to represent the "Church of Christ"—wish it distinctly understood that their plea is not merely an effort to *reform* the ecclesiastical establishments of the day, but a plea that contemplates an entire *restoration* of the Apostolic order of things. The grand results of this plea—results, which, in the same space of time, stand unparalleled in the history of the Church, since the second century—may be summed up briefly as follows:

They count a membership of at least 500,000 communicants, many thousands of whom, by the process of disintegration, have abandoned the various religious denominations of the day. And though they possess and control but few organized missionary societies, these figures show conclusively that, by some means or other, they have proved themselves the most successful missionary people in the world, these results having been gained within fifty years.

They control twelve chartered colleges, a number of female seminaries, and one mammoth university, located on the Henry Clay estate, and embracing within itself six distinct colleges, the enterprise being placed on a scale of magnificence unequaled by any thing of the kind in the United States, or even in Europe; and which, at the present time, is educating nearly eight hundred students.

They own, as individual enterprises, some twenty-five periodicals, embracing one quarterly, five or six monthlies, six or seven weeklies, two ladies' magazines, and several Sunday school papers.

They number about 2,000 congregations, with about 1,000 regular preachers, many of whom rank high as pulpit orators, as forcible and popular writers, and as distinguished polemics.

The work of Alexander Campbell just now begins to be approved and appreciated by the intelligent and honest-hearted of the religious world. The fact now comes to be acknowledged that he was pre-eminently a defender of the faith, although during his long, toilsome lifetime he was grossly misrepresented and calumniated. Though repeatedly stigmatized as an Arian, a Socinian, a heretic,

and as denying the work of the Holy Spirit, the fact becomes more apparent every day, that no man, since the days of the Apostles, has wielded such a powerful influence in the correction of theological errors and in the re-establishment of the Apostolic order of things. No one has done more to make the Bible a plain book, and the book of the people; no one has more ably defended the Sacred Volume against the attacks of Infidels; no one ever dealt more heavy blows against sectarian exclusiveness and ecclesiastical despotism; no one has more successfully exposed priestly arrogance, and broken down the barriers that separate the people from the clergy. By pleading for Christian union, in opposition to Protestant divisions, he incurred the spite and the bitterness of the clergy, and through the misrepresentations of the jealous clergy, he suffered the censure and suspicions of the people; but now the tide begins to flow back. Christian union, among all denominations, is growing into the most popular theme of the day, for the agitation of which subject Mr. Campbell suffered reproach and contumely. As another result of his plea in favor of the one Apostolic baptism, we may fairly estimate that, comparing the present with fifty years ago, the number of persons immersed stand in the proportion of one hundred to one. One hundred voices speak union now where there used to be but one voice. Every question is probed to the bottom. Sectarianism is losing its hold on the hearts of the people. Thousands are seeking for the old paths. Distinctions between clergy and people are melting away. The motto of intelligent and honest men is, "Prove all things: hold fast that which is good." Denominational creeds are no longer regarded as binding on Church communicants. The decrees of synods and councils are buried in the same grave with the fossils of antique superstition. The preacher who mounts the pulpit must prove his proposition, or meet the reprobation of an inquiring people.

With this array of testimony and these marks of progress before us, who dare say that Alexander Campbell, as an instrument in the hands of God, has not left an ineffaceable impress of his great mind upon this wonderful age, and energized with the great powers of his soul the best men and women of our generation, in whose hands he has left the rich heritage of consummating the grandest reformation of modern days!

## III.—ANCIENT HYMNODY.

WE propose, in the present number, to give a hasty sketch of the origin and nature of the hymns of the Old and New Testament Scriptures; and also those of the early ages of what may be called the Primitive Church. In some subsequent paper we shall endeavor to treat upon the Medieval and Modern Hymnody, reaching down to the present time. We feel how difficult it is to do justice to a subject of such breadth and importance, and to work up, within our limited space, the ample materials which the hymns of the ages have furnished.

All earnest minds have sought to give expression to their deepest thoughts and passions in poetry. This is the truest and most permanent utterance of the soul. Poetry is the language of the imagination, the only creative faculty we possess. Much of the Bible is written in this language, instead of plain and simple narrative. God is in love with the beautiful. Creation is saturated with it. Each orb that fills its appointed place is a grand epic; and suns and systems an oratorio,

"Forever singing as they shine,  
The hand that made us is divine."

The cold and formal deductions of the intellect, the elaborately-defined system of the theologian, are wholly unfit to offer in praise to the God of glory. What to him is our logical analysis, our metaphysical reasonings, our "divine alchemy"? When we approach God we should give him the richest treasures of our hearts. Nothing is fit to be offered but the firstlings of the flock, and the finest in the field. When we come into his sanctuary, the oil of the lamps must be crushed out of the ripened olives, pure and unadulterated; and the incense of prayer and praise must be made up from the choicest products of the human heart, interpenetrated with the fires of the golden altar of the holy place.

In the Bible God has spoken to man in the selectest forms of human speech. He has winged the arrows of truth with the

plumage of heaven, and sent them into the human heart to do their appointed work. He has drawn from nature and art all their wealth, to captivate the imagination, to inform the judgment, and to quicken the conscience. It is in the spirit of this oracular form of speech that psalmody has its true origin. It is the voice of the spirit of man in its highest moods and richest utterances, addressing itself to the ear of God. It is the soul bringing itself into the sweetest, tenderest, dearest relationship to its Maker. It is the "melody of the heart," whatever may be the discord of the lips; and he who searches the heart, and knows the disposition of the spirit, can fully interpret and understand it. It is the reaching of the spirit upward to the Infinite in its immortal longings and heavenward aspirations.

The Wonders of Redemption, the Blood of the Cross, the Triumphs of the Resurrection, the Glories of the Ascension, and the Mediatorial Reign, are themes that can not be excelled. They form the burden of Christian psalmody, and when the words are accompanied with the melody of sweet sounds, they melt and subdue, they raise and sublimiate the affections, and fill us with adoring wonder and praise.

The psalmody of the Scriptures has enlisted in its service, indeed, all the elements of Nature. It has called to its aid Creation and Providence, as well as the marvels of Redemption; the rain and the dew, the cloud and the tempest, the shadow of the rock, and the heat of the sun; the rivulets among the hills, and the roar of the ocean; the earth and the sky; the whole animal creation; the cedars of Lebanon, and the lilies of the valley; the oaks of Bashan, and the rose of Sharon; the birds that sing among the branches, and the stormy wind fulfilling the will of God; Tabor with its snowy summit, and the little hills that rejoice on every side.

The song of angels at the advent of the Savior is the keynote to the hymnody of the New Institution—"Glory to God in the highest: on earth, peace, good-will among men." It heralded the Messianic age, which is to last forever, and was the grandest choral hitherto sung.

The notes of the advent still linger in the heavens, and have been borne down through the ages to the present time; and will continue until the trump of the resurrection morn. The Christian worshiper lives in the atmosphere of song. Its divine inspirations and harmo-



nies pervade his whole being. The ancient breath of a higher world stirs his soul, and brings him in sympathy with the elder sons of creation, "when the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy." The very element in which the Christian lives is joy—the joy of the Lord. It is often the joy of tears, the joy of "the man of sorrows," the purest, divinest joy ever known. It is a part of that legacy Jesus left to his disciples on the earth. "Is any among you afflicted? let him pray. Is any one cheerful? let him sing praise."

The Author of our religion, who knew what was in man, has made the most ample provision for this essential part of worship. His own life was the sublimest of all epics. From the cradle to the cross, and from the cross to the throne, he has furnished materials for an inexhaustible store of lyrics, that only the genius of a Milton could but faintly appreciate, and which will more than master the most successful aspirants for fame in poetry and song. The great English poet has furnished the world with one song on the nativity, the finest in the language, which, for its simple grandeur and breadth of manner, its lofty imagination, subdued by the subject, is unsurpassed. It shows the possibilities of the mighty themes connected with the life and mission of Jesus:

"The oracles are dumb,  
No voice or hideous hum  
Runs through the archéd roof in words deceiving.  
Apollo from his shrine  
Can no more divine,  
With hollow shriek the steep of Delphos leaving.  
No nightly trance or breathéd spell  
Inspires the pale-eyed priest from the prophetic cell.

He feels from Juda's land  
The dreaded Infant's hand.  
The rays of Bethlehem blind his dusky eyn,  
Nor all the gods beside,  
Longer dare abide,  
Nor Typhon huge ending in snaky twine:  
Our Babe to show his Godhead true,  
Can in his swaddling bands control the damnéd crew."

Praise constituted a great part of the religious worship, not only of the Israelites, but of all Pagan nations. In the synagogue and temple, and in their private dwellings, the Jews celebrated the

praises of God. On grand occasions their great minstrels offered to him their loftiest hymns.

The songs of the Hebrew people belong to the heroic age of the nation. They were heard in the times of the Judges, and culminated in the life and the times of David. They then began to decline, and never afterward revived. The more thoughtful and considerate character of their psalmody is identical with the peaceful epochs of their history. But its lyrical character was hushed in the midst of the commerce and trade and domestic felicity of the tribes. Ewald speaks of the latter period of their psalmody as "artificial." Now what was true in regard to Hebrew songs is equally true in regard to Christian. They both belong to the heroic, in the life of persons and of nations or communities. The more peaceful times give us the sentimental, or a large profusion of the "artificial." They are pretty, but wanting in depth; beautiful, but destitute of the sublime. They dwell much upon the daily experience, the hopes and fears, the joys and sorrows of the Christian life, but having little in them robust and stirring, calling us to suffering and victory, to self-denial and triumph. It is true in regard both to Hebrew and Christian hymns, and, indeed, the hymns of a nation, that they must be personal to be heroic, and they must be heroic to live in the heart of a nation or of the world. All those hymns that speak of Christ, his birth, his baptism, his life, his cross, his triumphs, live in the hearts of his people, and are the battle-songs of his conquering armies.

It is worthy of remark, that no record is given us of any songs belonging to the antediluvian age, unless the prophetic announcement of Enoch, which looked beyond the actual scenes of Redemption, may be thus called.\* The age was one of extreme wickedness. The soil was too corrupt, the atmosphere too defiled, to produce a song that would survive the Flood. Although song is born of sorrow, it is not the offspring of guilt. An age of universal corruption can not produce a lyric that will live, unless it is the product of inspiration, or the voice of injured virtue defiantly breaking the chains that bound it, and summoning to reformation. It is a phenomenon observed in the literature of all nations, that the earliest form in which the thoughts and feelings of a people find utterance is the poetic. The song antedates the birth and the history

\* Jude, 14, 15.

of nations. Prose is an after-growth, less spontaneous and more considerate.

The first recorded hymn in the Bible is that which was sung on the opposite shore of the Red Sea.\* It was the national thanksgiving of the tribes of Israel. When the nation appeared, which had been hidden in Egypt, her voice became audible. The song was of victory and triumph. It was "sung to the Lord." It was the first song of triumph ever heard from the lips of a nation celebrating the wonders of redemption in their behalf by the Lord of Hosts. Their enemies had sunk, like lead, to the bottom of the sea; and amidst the silence of the desert, and the deeper silence of the dead, Israel sang this song of redemption. It was the type of all the subsequent songs of the nation; and in some form it has, in every age since, been heard—sometimes in feeble accents, and again in bursts of choral triumph.

We have one book in the Scriptures which speaks from the universal heart of man to God—a book inspired of God to aid the heart in these its deepest utterances. It is the book of Psalms. "Unto thee, O Lord, will I sing." It is an inspired liturgy for all time, and the prophetic utterances of David for himself and for his "greater Son"—of a sorrow and a joy that had no equal. The book itself is a part of one great hymn of redemption, ever repeating itself in the inward struggles and hopes, repentings and confessions, prayers and praises of the Church, in its life of humiliation and suffering, till her warfare is over.

Every song written by David and others in this wondrous book was designed to give expression to some deliverance, some great sorrow, or to record some event of note in the person of its Author, or the history of the nation. The fewest, if any of them, were simply contemplative or sentimental. When David fled from Absalom, his son, his heart lifted itself up to "the Lord, his shield;" when Shimei cursed him, he sang praises to the name of the Lord Most High; looking up to the rocks and the wild hill-fortresses, among which he had taken refuge from Saul, he called on "the Lord, his fortress, and his high tower." In his youth, looking at his flocks in the desert, led by green pastures and still waters, his heart turned to "the Lord, his shepherd."

\* Exod. xv.

David had his "appointed order of singers;" and some portion was "due every day." But in the Spiritual House, which, silently, day by day, is going up, each stone is musical, and when touched by the hand of the Great Master, responds in tears, and sighs, and strains of exultation and joy, which every age repeats, and to which every redeemed heart responds. Each child of God has a song of his own; but every note is in harmony with the grand oratorio. The finest strains are those which approach to the very borders of the elements of discord. For what is musical harmony but light out of darkness, and rhythm out of discord? And so "our sweetest songs are those that tell of saddest thought."

The first hymn of the Messianic Age, by human lips, was sung by Mary, the mother of Jesus, and was only heard by one auditor—a faithful woman of Israel. "My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Savior."\* The next was sung by Zacharias, at the circumcision of John, the harbinger of Jesus. But one more was heard that finished the beautiful triad, and then silence prevailed until the night of the betrayal. The cradle and the cross, the birth and the death of the great Hero of our salvation, constitute the mighty themes of Hymnody in the mission of Jesus. These stand associated with his life of sorrow, and his final triumph. †

In the Acts of Apostles, we have one choral struck from the heart of the Church by the hand of persecution, in which all present united in giving it expression; and still another, followed by the earthquake that shook the prison at Philippi. ‡ These, with perhaps a few sentences which seem to partake of the nature of song, are all that are found in the New Testament until the Apocalyptic strains fall upon the ear.

The use of psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs is expressly enjoined by the Apostle as essential parts of Christian worship. § Songs were used in the Christian Church that seem to have been improvised for the occasion. ||

Grotius and others have supposed that fragments of hymns, used by the Apostolic Church, may be found in the Epistles. ¶ They suppose, from the musical rhythm found in these and other verses,

\* Luke i, 46-55. † Luke i, 64-75; ii, 29-32. ‡ Acts iv, 24-30; xvi, 25. § Eph. v, 19; Col. iii, 16. || 1 Cor. xiv, 26. ¶ 1 Tim. iii, 16; 2 Tim. ii, 11-13; 1 Cor. xiii.

that they must have been sung ; but the argument is not conclusive. Many of these passages, however, are highly poetical.

Pliny, at the close of the Apostolical Age, A. D. 103, 104, gives the earliest authoritative record on the Hymnody of the Primitive Church, in his famous letter to Trajan, in which he says "that Christians were wont to assemble before day to offer praise to Christ as to God." "*Carmen Christo quasi Deo dicere secum invicem.*" Eusebius says that "Pliny could find nothing against the Christians, save that they sang hymns to Christ as to God." It would seem, then, that the Christians, in that early age, followed in the footsteps of the Apostolic Churches. Tertullian distinctly testifies to the use of songs to the praise of God by Christians in his day, and of the Apostolical Churches. "Every one," he says, "united in their public worship to sing unto God, according to his ability from the Scriptures, or *de proprio ingenio—one indited by himself.*" Justin Martyr, also, mentions the songs and hymns of the Ephesian Christians—"we manifest our gratitude to him by worshiping him in spiritual songs and hymns, praising him for our birth, for our health, for the vicissitudes of the seasons, and for the hopes of immortality."

Eusebius has also left on record the important testimony of Caius, supposed to be an ancient historian, and contemporary with Tertullian: "Who knows not," says he, "the writings of Irenæus, Melito, and others, which exhibit Christ as God and man? And *how many songs and odes of the brethren there are written from the beginning—jam pridem—a long time since*, by believers, which offer praise to Christ as the Word of God?" This is an important testimony to the use of spiritual songs in Christian worship, from the remotest antiquity. There seems also in this passage to be some allusion to a collection of spiritual songs—an inchoate hymn-book—perhaps the earliest known.

Christ is the hero of most, if not all, these songs. His name and mission, his life and doctrine, his miracles and sufferings, and his final triumphs constitute, the glorious themes of Christian praise and worship.

The songs of the first Christians were not restricted to the congregation. In their social circles, and around their domestic altars, in their daily avocations, in dismal mines, in solitary prisons, and as wandering exiles, they sung the songs of Zion, and hymned the

praises of God. "Go where you will," says Jerome, "the plowman at his plow sings his joyful halleluiahs, the busy mower regales himself with his psalms, and the vine-dresser is singing one of the songs of David. Such are our songs—our love-songs—as they are called, the solace of the shepherd in his solitude, and of the husbandman in his toil." Beautiful description of the hymnody of the Primitive Church as practiced among the humbler classes of society! It would be well if the same was more generally practiced now. It would diffuse a healthier glow over the heart of the Christian, and prevent much of the *ennui* so characteristic in our days.

The Primitive Christians met on the first day of the week in honor of the Resurrection. The Jewish Sabbath was abolished, but the first day of the new creation was held sacred. This day was not so much added to the Christian institution as that it was born of it. It was its eldest child—ever to be held dear to the heart of the worshiper. It yielded its homage and its sacred memorials to the risen Savior. If the seventh day was sanctified by the typical nation, the *first* was crowned by the disciples of Christ. On this day the Christian assemblies met, "singing to each other in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in their hearts to God." It is proper that the hymnals of the Church on this blessed day should be of the highest order. The whole of our services on the Lord's Day indeed should partake of the character of song, in which all should in some manner partake. Praise should be interspersed throughout our worship. Its monotony should be frequently broken up as by a handful of diamonds scattered over the assembly. The services of the house of God should not be stereotyped, but should be, in some measure, free and spontaneous. We have no idea that, in the Apostolical Churches, such a ritualistic order was observed as is now found among us. The Apostle, in referring to the order of worship, says: "I will sing with the spirit that is given me, and I will sing with my understanding also." "When you come together each one of you has a psalm, has something to teach, has an unknown tongue, has a revelation, has an interpretation."

There has come down to us from the early Church three hymns, which have the dew and freshness of the "new creation" resting upon them. They seem to have been brought from "a field that God has blessed." The "Tersanctus," the "Gloria Excelsis," and the "Te

Deum." Through all the corruptions of the Dark Ages they have remained intact. We are not able to say when they originated, but their existence can be traced back to the earliest uninspired records of our religion. Who wrote them, or how they had their birth, whether they were suddenly brought into existence, or were the outgrowth of a century or more, we can not say. They lay entombed in dead languages for centuries, and this may have preserved them in their pristine purity. All around them the air was fetid with the corruptions of an apostate Church. Errors and rank idolatries sprang up around them—prayers to dead men, and lifeless wood, and symbolic bread, and passionate appeals to all saints. Aves and litanies to Mary were chanted by more lips than were heard in these sublime offerings to God and his Christ. But here they stand, like sentinels, guarding the ancient faith, and lifting up their solemn protest against all innovations and earth-born traditions. Like the earliest creeds of the Church, they dwell upon the great facts of our redemption. They give no place simply to feeling and sentiment; but how lofty and exulting the strains they breathe! They do not speak of our affections, but of the mighty achievements of the Captain of our salvation. Not a tone of sorrow mingles with their joy; not one sigh of despondency mars the majesty of their mighty hopes. The lamentations of the fall are silenced amid the halleluiahs of adoring saints, and mortality is swallowed up of life. "Therefore with angels and archangels, and all the company of heaven, we laud and magnify thy glorious name; evermore praising thee, and saying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts, heaven and earth are full of thy glory; glory be to thee, O Lord, Most High!" These hymns are chiefly addressed to Christ, and record the great facts of redemption. "O Lord, the only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ; O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy on us. Thou that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy on us. Thou that takest away the sins of the world, receive our prayer. Thou that sittest at the right hand of God, the Father, have mercy on us." Thus the *Gloria* and the *Miserere* are ever associated together. The *Te Deum* crowns this glorious triad. The hymns of the Church have better conserved the faith of Christ than its creeds. The heart is more loyal to the person of the Redeemer than the head. The love-songs of the family of Christ speak



of his mighty deeds. The creeds seek to reason upon them. The generous impulses of the bride—the Lamb's wife—are truer to his nature and his work than theological athletes. She has often said, "I can not reason for Christ, but I can die for him." The former is the creed, the latter the song!

Before we speak of the hymns whose authorship is known, a few words may not be unprofitable in regard to the anonymous Greek hymns. To what precise age they belong we can not say, as the manuscripts which record them may be but copies of the more ancient; and these may have been written long after they had been sung *memoriter*. They are characterized by extreme simplicity, and, therefore, lead us to conclude that they originated in the Primitive Church. These early songs carry back our faith to the times of the Apostles. It is supposed that some of these are earlier than any that Clement of Alexandria wrote—the earliest known hymn-writer. The first of these are the "Morning and Evening Hymn," so called in Daniel's Thesaurus—the "Morning" being the well-known "Glory to God in the highest," as found in the prayer-book, the "Evening Hymn," commencing with the words,

"Joyful light of holy glory,  
Of the immortal Heavenly Father."

The subject-matter of both these hymns is objective; but little, if any, appeal made to the imagination; no ecstasy of passion; no sentimentality; but a narration of facts; a close realization of the great events that stand associated with our faith. They are eminently personal; they are of the nature of the inspired records of our religion; they dwell upon facts which alone can awaken within us all grateful and sublime emotions. When looking out upon the earth, the ocean, or the sky, or the great facts of redemption, the moment we begin to analyze the emotions they awaken, they leave us, for they can exist no longer than the objects that awakened them are present to our senses.

The early Greek hymns dwell upon Christ—his birth, baptism, life, death, resurrection, and ascension; but chiefly upon his nativity and incarnation—the union of the Godhead with the human in his nature in the person of our Redeemer. They do not often dwell upon his death and the after-scenes of his mission. This was due

to the esthetic and sensuous character of the Greek mind in love with the beautiful, the mysterious, the sublime. They loved to look back upon the origin of things. Christ, as a restorer, was to them more precious than Christ as the Redeemer. The cradle was dearer than the Cross; the manger than the sepulcher; and, in later years, Mary than her Son! They scarcely get beyond the cradle and the incarnation in their songs. The pervading influence of these facts is seen alike in their creeds and in their songs. The Mariolatry of the later Church may be traced back to it. The Western Church learned its philosophy, and much of its religion, from the eastern portion of the Roman Empire. They made the manger the center of the faith. But the person of Christ, and his Cross, are the great central truths of the New Institution. Numerous hymns are written on the "Nativity," on Baptism, and the Resurrection. One song on the Pentecost has these words:

"When descending, he confused the tongues;  
The Highest scattered the nations;  
*When he distributed the tongues of fire*  
*He called to unity."*

In later times their songs become more sentimental and subjective, like those of the Middle Ages, and like many of modern times. They indicate a want of trust in the great facts of the Gospel history, and show the tendency of the mind to look within, instead of looking without, for comfort and relief, amidst the trials and temptations of life.

We have already spoken of Clement of Alexandria as the first known hymn-writer. It will not be possible for us now to trace down the stream of time the subject of hymnody until the days of Luther and the modern Church. We have neither time nor space to do so. But a few thoughts on the times of Clement, and the sources of the hymns in his day, may lead us to a fair consideration of the productions of subsequent times.

Rome still existed, and was imperial; Constantinople had its own peculiar center, and Jerusalem was still the ancient fountain of the true faith. Alexandria, a busy, flourishing city, the channel of traffic for western regions, was the busy mart of nations. It became the center of thought, whose slightest vibration was felt in every direction. Clement was called to the head of the catechetical

school in Alexandria. He had long been a searcher after truth. His mind was purely Oriental, and his researches were drawn from similar sources. Greek science and poetry he eagerly sought. He became a Christian, and went to Alexandria as the proper field for his mission. It was the great mint of thought and exchange for both the Eastern and the Western world. He lived and taught in the midst of persecution. "Daily," he wrote, "martyrs are burnt, beheaded, and crucified before our eyes." He himself was compelled to fly from the city, and of his subsequent history but little is known. One hymn of his is entitled "Hymn of the Savior Christ." It is full of simple and sublime imagery, chiefly drawn from Scripture. He calls Jesus the "Sure Guide of babes, Shepherd of royal sheep, Guide of children, King of saints, All-governing Word, Chief of Wisdom, Fisher of men, Perpetual Light." He says:

"We hymn in simplicity the mighty Child,  
The chorus of peace, the kindred of Christ;  
The race of the temperate—  
We will praise together the God of peace."

There is evidently a falling off in the character of the hymns in this century. The Greek ideal pervades them; a certain Oriental grace is aimed at; a blending of figures for effect, which sacrificed song for poetry, praise for prettiness, the complication of colors for the simple design of the Christian Temple. It was the dawn of the monasticism of later times, and the contemplative rather than the practical type of the Christian system. The hymnody of Clement seems to be the median line between the two; and how the former prevailed over the latter all subsequent history of the Church fully shows. Invocations to Mary "the Mother of God"—"the all-holy"—crowd thicker and thicker on the later hymns. The air is burdened with sickly sentimentalism, until Mohammedanism broke suddenly all the strings of that alien harp which gave forth such discord. From hence a new language must become the vehicle of song. The language of Homer and the New Testament must give place to the language of Virgil, of Cicero, and the Vulgate.

The Latin hymns of the fourth and fifth centuries form quite a distinct school. Many of them were mere translations, wanting, however, the flexibility of the Greek language. It may be that what the Latin hymns lost in grace and in subtile shades of

thought; from that of the Greek, they gained in power and in calm dignity of speech.

The fourth century was peculiarly and truly an age of transition, Ambrose representing the relation between the Church and the State, and Augustine the relations of truth to the soul. The new Gothic element had been introduced into the State, and into the Church. A confused mass of heterogeneous elements were commingled together, and the Church sought to harmonize them. Ambrose introduced into the Church the responsive chanting, long since prevalent in the eastern Churches. The character of these early Latin hymns are like those of the Greek Church, chiefly objective. They were designed to keep alive among the masses the great truths and facts of our religion. They were educational in their character. Thus they had hymns not only for sunrise and sunset, but for every hour of the day—"prime, lauds, matins, terce, midday, nones, vespers, midnight"—and, in addition to this, they linked with the day and the year the great events of the Gospel history. They not only sung these in choirs in cathedrals, but chanted them in the fields and in their homes. There is no doubt but that the design was good, and, in many instances, proved beneficial, and, during those transitional periods in the empire, reached the great masses of the people. The seasons of the year became to them a great pictorial bible, addressed to their outward senses, and which, among much that was superstitious, kept alive the facts of the Gospel. It can not be doubted but that the Ambrosian hymnody exerted a mighty influence over the Gothic mind as well as the Latin; and, amid the fading glories of the empire, kept alive the faith and hope of men in forms of worship allied with Paganism, but enshrining spiritual and immortal truths, which otherwise might have utterly died out amidst the error and corruption which flooded both the Church and the State.

We have seen that lyric poetry has furnished nearly all the songs that properly belong to the hymnology of the Church. Its range is wide and ample. In Scripture it is the breath of inspiration; in art, the breath of human genius. Its very speech is song; it is interpenetrated with music; it is more than logic or argument, it is impulse and fire; it does not so much lead to victory as it is victory itself. Sometimes its strains are as plaintive as a woman's sigh, or stormy

as the Baltic, "lashed in foam and fury;" sad as the wail of the captives under the willows, or "spirit-stirring as the minstrelsy of glorious war."

A few reflections and we shall close. It will be seen that song or hymnody has had a permanent place in worship as far back as the records of the true religion have carried us; and it stands associated with all that is pure and lofty in worship. It is an element that can not be dispensed with.

We have seen that the hymns of the ages, rather than the creeds, are the living exponent of the religious life. The one speaks from the heart, the other from the reason. The polemic is the frozen period in the heart of the Church, and has left the northern and southern poles filled with impassable barriers. The songs of the Church have melted these mighty masses, and breathed over them an atmosphere of summer. And if ever unity and harmony shall be restored to the bosom of the Church, the songs of the ages will have much to do in accomplishing it.

It has also been seen that the Scriptural songs are a record of facts embodying great principles and living truths; and that the nearer to the Apostolic Church, the more simple and severely grand the hymns which they sung; and that the song held fast to the faith longer than the creed, and through the abounding corruptions of later days, the grandest of their chorals remained intact; and that, upon the whole, the heart of the Church has been more loyal than the intellect. In this phase of our subject have we not much in the future to hope?

## IV.—ECUMENICAL COUNCILS.

IN the summer of 1867 there was in Rome a great gathering of Catholic bishops. The object of this gathering was twofold. In the first place, the 29th of June of that year, according to the Roman calendar, was the eighteenth centennial of the martyrdom of St. Peter; in the second place, the Sovereign Pontiff had announced that he should, on this centenary, canonize about a score of Dutch, Italian, and Spanish saints, and beatify some two hundred Japanese martyrs. Of course, to Romanists it was an important occasion. The saints were duly canonized, and the martyrs beatified. Before the bishops dispersed, his Holiness declared the necessity of an Ecumenical Council, and announced to them his intention to convoke one at an early date. True to his promise, on the next anniversary of the martyrdom of Peter, the Holy Father issued letters to all the bishops of the Catholic world, fixing the date of the Council, and summoning them to attend it. In these letters he named the 8th of December, 1869, as the time, and the city of Rome as the place of convocation. Subsequently he issued two letters of a different character—one addressed to the Greek bishops, the other to the Protestant sectaries—in which he urged them to profit by the Council to undertake again the work of reunion; in other words, to improve this favoring opportunity to submit themselves to the Roman See.

The posting of the Pope's bull of indiction upon the walls of the Lateran struck the Christian world with surprise. More than three hundred years had passed since the adjournment of the last General Church Council, and by what seemed unanimous consent it was agreed that another would never be convoked. Even so great a man and so good a Catholic as De Maistre had said "An Ecumenical Council had become a chimera;" and had given, as a reason, that "the world has been so much enlarged by the boldness of our sailors," that "for the convocation, of the bishops alone, and to establish legally this convocation, five or six years would not be sufficient." Protestant writers reflected on the intellectual, political,

and religious changes that three centuries had wrought; they saw that the Catholic doctrine was already well settled, and the discipline thoroughly consolidated; they thought a Council would lead to perplexing complications: hence, they had concluded that another was, to say the very least, among the extreme improbabilities. But the triumphs of science and art have practically annihilated the distances that, less than fifty years ago, seemed to De Maistre so formidable, and in utter disregard of all the good reasons that Protestants had given why another Council would not be called, the Pope has called one.

And the time draws near for its assembling. Rome is filled with preparations. One of the large chapels in St. Peter's church, which is capable of seating several thousand persons, has been chosen as the place of convocation. The principal architects of Rome, under the immediate supervision of the Pope himself, are providing the necessary accommodations. The altar of the Council is placed at one end of the chapel, the throne of the Pontiff at the other. The seats are arranging about the throne with reference to convenience and artistic effect, not at all disregarding the claims of hierarchical priority. A large and beautiful piece of black marble, found among the treasures of Nero, is to be made into an obelisk commemorative of the Council, and will be erected near the spot where tradition says Peter was crucified. Nor is this all. A number of commissions or committees, composed of eminent cardinals and theologians, are preparing the work to the Council's hand.

Such are some of the circumstances under which the Council of the Vatican will assemble. It will be an imposing, if not an important, event. It will consist of nearly one thousand bishops and cardinals, the chiefs of the most ancient, the most numerous, and the most powerful spiritual society in Christendom. They will come from the East and the West, the North and the South—from the old seats of civilization, and from regions where civilization is yet to be planted; some of them ruling dioceses and provinces more ancient than the oldest kingdoms of Europe; some of them presiding over churches planted in the midst of barbarism and heathenism. As many as forty or fifty different nationalities will be represented. When these men sit down together in the chapel of St. Peter's, around a head whom they all obey, around an altar where



all are brethren, and, all unmindful of the modern tongues, conduct their proceedings in the sonorous speech of Cicero and Virgil, despite our objections to the system, despite the ambition, envy, and ceaseless intrigue that lie back of the decorous forms that illy conceal the working of the human passions, we must call the assembly imposing and venerable!

The Catholic Church counts eighteen Ecumenical Councils. From the fourth to the sixteenth century they are frequent occurrences in ecclesiastical history. So long a time has elapsed since the last one, so great have been the changes, that the world has become wholly unfamiliar with such assemblies—so unfamiliar that even Catholic shepherds find it necessary to tell their flocks how councils are composed, what their functions are, and how they are to be regarded. If Catholics have become so unfamiliar with the attributes of a body which wields a power above the Pope, certainly a Protestant may be excused for instituting an inquiry into its origin, character, and functions, with a view to determine what it is, and what place it has filled in the Church economy.

For the typical Ecumenical Council we must go to the history of the old Catholic Church. Here it must be considered in connection with the whole synodical system, of which it was the crown. This system sprang out of the organization of the hierarchy.

The hierarchy of the old Catholic Church was a growth; full five centuries were required to bring it to perfection. It partook largely of the political organization of the Empire, if indeed it was not modeled after it, a fact that shows how intimately State and Church, after the time of Constantine, were blended. When the hierarchy at length stood forth complete, it was thus composed: At the bottom of the scale stood the presbyter or priest, presiding over his church; next above him stood the bishop, presiding over his diocese; next in order came the metropolitan or archbishop, presiding over his province; finally came the patriarchs, of whom there were, counting the honorary Patriarch of Jerusalem, five, each presiding over his patriarchate.\*

Out of a hierarchy thus constituted, the synodical system naturally grew. It had its origin in the Apostolic Synod, or council, held

\*“Still above the metropolitans stood the five patriarchs, the oligarchical summit, so to speak, the five towers in the edifice of the Catholic hierarchy of the Græco-Roman Empire.”—*Dr. Schaff*.

in Jerusalem about A. D. 50, whose history is given in the fifteenth chapter of Acts. Like the hierarchy, it presented a gradation of orders. There was, first, the *Diocesan* or District Council, in which the Bishop presided over his clergy; second, the *Provincial* Council, in which the Metropolitan presided over the bishops of his province; third, the *Patriarchal* Council, composed of the bishops and metropolitans of a patriarchate, presided over by the Patriarch; last of all, the Ecumenical Council, the grand representative assembly of the Christian world. Between the two last, however, came a Council corresponding to nothing in the hierarchical system. This was the *National* Council, sometimes incorrectly called general. Of these there were two, the Latin and the Greek, standing for the two grand divisions of the Empire. Here again the powerful influence of political organization upon ecclesiastical is seen. In the technical language of ecclesiastical science, all the councils below the general are called *particular*. This synodical system is found in the Roman Church to-day, though modified in several particulars; the Patriarchal Councils have disappeared, the Christian world is the Catholic communion, and the Pope stands in the same relation to the Ecumenical Council that the Patriarch formerly did to the Patriarchal, or the Metropolitan to the Provincial.

We shall not inquire carefully into the jurisdiction and authority of the particular councils. Their decrees were only locally binding, and were not considered infallible. Appeals could be taken from the lower to the higher, the latter having a supervisory power. But the Ecumenical Council was on a grander scale. It is described by Dr. Schaff in this majestic language:

"Above the patriarchs, even above the Patriarch of Rome, stood the Ecumenical or General Councils, the highest representatives of the unity and authority of the old Catholic Church. They referred, originally, to the Roman Empire, but afterward included the adjacent barbarian countries, so far as those countries were represented in them by bishops. They rise up like lofty peaks or majestic pyramids from the plain of ancient Church history, and mark the ultimate authoritative settlement of the great questions of doctrine and discipline which agitated Christendom in the Græco-Roman Empire."\*

In the middle of the third century the churches of Asia Minor held regular annual synods, consisting of bishops and presbyters. From that time we find an increasing number of such assemblies in

\* "History of the Christian Church," vol. ii, pp. 330, 331.

the more important provinces of the Empire. The Council of Nicæa decreed that Provincial Councils should be held twice a year; the others were left to regulate themselves. Of most of the particular councils no records, or but meager ones, are left. But to extend Dr. Schaff's figure, if we can not always discover the hills and lesser mountains that rise up but a little distance above the plain of ancient Church history, there is no difficulty in tracing the lofty peaks that stand out so boldly defined against the eastern sky. By the opening of the fourth century there was already a considerable Christian literature, enough of which remains to give us a tolerably complete view of the first of these councils. In this literature it occupies a large place. And no wonder! After having been under the ban of the Empire for more than two hundred years, Christianity at last stood forth a State religion. From the Apostolic age the child had grown and waxed strong in spirit, but he had been in the deserts till this the day of his showing unto the Empire. But fourteen years previous to the Council the last and bloodiest wave of persecution had spent its force. The two great powers that had so long struggled for the mastery—one with spiritual, the other with carnal weapons—now stood face to face in peace, for the Church had triumphed. The city of Nicæa was the city of victory, and not the least interesting of the various aspects of the Council is this: it was a celebration of the Church's triumph. A study of this the most venerable and the most authoritative of all the Councils, will throw a strong light on the inquiry we are prosecuting.

Constantine was won over to the side of Christianity, in great part, by the apparent unity and harmony of the Christians. Wearied with the strifes and distractions of the State, he longed for something that had coherence and integrity. In the words of an eloquent historian:

"He entered upon his relations to the Church as a traveler enters a new country, with high expectations, with hasty conclusions, with bitter disappointments. Of all these disappointments none was so severe as that which he felt when first he became acquainted with the fact that the Christian as well the heathen commonwealth was torn by factions. It had broken upon him gradually—first at Arles, then at Rome, when the African controversy of the Donatists was brought before him. But the culminating point was their wild outbreak, as it must have seemed to him, in the important province of Egypt."\*

\* Stanley: "History of the Eastern Church," p. 175.

We must now sketch the history of this "wild outbreak" which, more than all other causes combined, led to the calling of the Council of Nicæa.

Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, "attempted one day, in the presence of the presbytery and the rest of his clergy, to explain, with perhaps too much minuteness," says Socrates Scholasticus, "that great theological mystery, the unity of the Holy Trinity." One of the presbyters, named Arius, a man of considerable abilities for dialectical and theological speculation, thinking he saw heresy in the Bishop's sermon, "controverted his statements with excessive pertinacity." It requires no little acuteness of mind, and no inconsiderable concentration of thought, to even follow the history of the discussion; suffice it to say, the controversy was in that most elevated, most abstract, most difficult region of theology, the relation in which the Son stands to the Father. "From a little spark," says Socrates, "a large fire was kindled; for the evil which commenced in the church at Alexandria, ran throughout all Egypt, Libya, and the Upper Thebes, and at length diffused itself over the rest of the provinces and cities." Alexander excommunicated Arius and his abettors. He also wrote a letter to his "fellow-ministers of the Catholic Church every-where," in which he argued the question at issue, denounced the heretics, and concluded by saying, "It was incumbent on the Christians to withdraw themselves from all those who speak or entertain a thought against Christ, as from those who are resisting God, and are the destroyers of the souls of men." Any one familiar with the history of similar controversies can anticipate the course of events. Socrates continues: "By Alexander's thus addressing the bishops in every city the evil only became worse. . . . Confusion every-where prevailed; for one saw not only the prelates of the churches engaged in contention, but the people also divided, some siding with one party and some with the other. . . . Thus letters from the opposite parties were sent to the Bishop of Alexandria, and Arius made a collection of those which were favorable to himself; while Alexander did the same with those which were adverse."

Finally the matter came to the knowledge of the Emperor, who was "deeply grieved." He resolved, if possible, to arrest the progress of the controversy. Accordingly he sent the great Hosius, Bishop of Cordova in Spain, to Alexandria, the bearer of a letter to

Alexander and Arius. In this letter he evinces the qualities of mind that men of affairs commonly bring to the consideration of theological subtilities. He first states the origin of the difficulties, charging the bishop with "mooting a subject improper for discussion," and the presbyter with "rashly giving expression to a view of the matter such as ought never to have been conceived." He then exhorts to toleration :

"Permit me further to remind you of your duty by an example of an inferior kind. You are well aware that even the philosophers themselves, while all confederated under one sect, yet often disagree with each other on some parts of their theories ; but although they may differ in their views on the very highest branches of science, yet in order to maintain the unity of their body, they will agree to coalesce. Now, if this is done amongst them, how much more equitable will it be for you, who have been constituted ministers of the Most High God, to become unanimous with one another in the same religious profession !"

He exhorts to forgiveness :

"Wherefore let an unguarded question and an inconsiderate answer, on the part of each of you, procure equal forgiveness to one another."

He descends to passionate entreaty :

"Return again, therefore, to a state of reconciliation ; and by so doing give back to me tranquil days, and nights free from care ; that to me also there may be some pleasure in the pure light, and that a cheerful serenity may be preserved to me during the rest of my life."\*

But all to no purpose. Neither the exhortations of Constantine nor the authority of Hosius availed. The pestilent spirit that had been raised would not "down" at the bidding even of an emperor. As he brooded over the troubled condition of the Church, there sprang up in Constantine's mind—as he says "by a divine inspiration"—the idea of convoking the representatives of the whole Church in general assembly. This idea carried into execution resulted in the first Ecumenical Council. Accordingly he addressed letters to all the bishops, calling them to Nicæa, a lively commercial town near the imperial residence at Nicomedia, the ancient capital of Bythinia. Here the bishops, three hundred and eighteen in number, each attended by two presbyters and three slaves, gathered early in the summer of 325, five years after the "wild outbreak" in Egypt.

Constantine opened the Council in person. After delivering a

\* "The Ecclesiastical History of Socrates surnamed Scholasticus," book i, chaps. v, vi, vii.

sonorous Latin oration, abounding in pious sentiments, he gave liberty to the presidents whom he had chosen to proceed with the business. It does not come within the scope of this article to give a detailed account of the proceedings. Those who would have their fill of *Homoousios*, *Homoiousios*, and *Hypostasis* are referred to the standard works on ecclesiastical history. There were the usual embarrassments and delays, the usual criminations and recriminations, the usual arguments and rejoinders, the usual finesse and manipulation; but in what must be confessed a short period of time the Council had finished its work. The paschal controversy had been settled, the doctrines of Arius had been condemned, his book, "Thalia," burned, and the heretic himself exiled. Before the close of summer the bishops had dispersed.

But the most important work done at Nicæa was the formulating and promulgating of the Nicene Creed, intended to put an end forever to theological controversy. After the Apostles' Creed it is the most ancient, the most authoritative, the most widely-received creed of Christendom. It is revered by the Greek, by the Catholic, by the Anglican, and by many of the Evangelical Churches. "The Word of the Lord which was given in the Ecumenical Council of Nicæa," says Athanasius, "remaineth forever." The text, "Remove not the ancient landmarks which the fathers have set," is also applied to it. Besides the Creed, the Council also ordained twenty canons. These may be divided into four groups, thus: 1. Seven relating to clerical jurisdiction; 2. one relating to worship; 3. four relating to the manners and morals of the clergy; 4. eight relating to cases of conscience which arose in dealing with those who had apostatized in the recent persecutions. The decrees were signed by all the bishops, approved by the emperor, and then sent out as an authoritative statement of the faith and discipline of the Imperial Church.

Thus it is seen that the first Ecumenical Council was an extraordinary assembly occasioned by a great theological controversy. The others were called at irregular periods to settle what were, or were regarded, important questions of doctrine and of discipline. In the foregoing sketch of Nicæa occur several points that deserve fuller elaboration.

I. *Political character.* The very word *ecumenical* is suggestive of State relationships. The *oikoumene*, in the oldest classic usage,

was the inhabited world ; then, the world inhabited by Greeks ; in its imperial usage, the Roman Empire, the *Orbis Romanus*. But as the bishops of the barbarians outside the Empire were admitted, the *Synodos Oikoumenikee*, the *Concilium Universale*, the General Council, represented the entire Catholic Christian world.

But there is more certain evidence of State relationship. The Council of Nicæa was summoned, conducted, and confirmed by Constantine, as the six following Councils were by his successors. As this is generally denied by the Roman divines, these points must be drawn out in more detail.

In the first place, the call of a Council emanated from the reigning emperor. He fixed the time and place of meeting, summoned the bishops, and paid the entire expense from the imperial treasury. In some cases, perhaps in most, the emperor may have been induced to issue the call through the representations of the ecclesiastics, as was natural ; but the ultimate power was lodged in himself alone. "The supreme chief of the Church, the Pope, and he only," says Bishop Dupanloup, "has the right of convoking General Councils." Anciently it was not so. The Nicene fathers were called together without previous advice or consent from the Bishop of Rome. The Catholic claim that Pope Sylvester had some share in the convocation of the first Council can not be traced higher than the third Council of Constantinople, held in 680. It is quite true that the Papal influence became more and more prominent as the Bishop of Rome gained power ; but it did not become predominant until the last of the seven great Councils had been held.\* Indeed, the hand of the temporal prince can be seen in the later Councils.† When the Byzantine emperors were no longer accessible, owing to schism in the Church and the conquests of the Mohammedans, the emperors of Germany, the chiefs of the new "Holy Roman Empire," succeeded to the rights of Constantine. In the Middle Ages, if the Popes called the Councils, the emperors sanctioned the call. "An appeal to a General Council," says Stanley, "was the half-temporal, half-spiritual weapon which the emperors and kings of Europe always

\*The Roman Catholic Church historian Hefele concedes all that is here claimed : "The first eight General Councils were appointed and convoked by the emperors ; all subsequent Councils, on the contrary, by the Popes."

† "General Councils may not be gathered together but by the commandment and will of princes."—*Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England*.



held in reserve as a rejoinder to a Papal interdict." This eloquent writer based his prediction that another General Council would never be held on the fact that there is no longer an Emperor to unite with the Pope in summoning one. The wars of Napoleon stripped the emperors of Austria of the empty title they had so long worn, Emperor of Germany.

In the second place, the emperors presided over the Councils in person or by commission. This is contrary to the Roman claim. "The Pope alone," says Bishop Dupanloup, "has the right to preside over their [the bishops'] deliberations. And as a question of fact, it is true that Popes, either personally or by legates, have presided over every Ecumenical Council." So far from this being true, neither the Pope nor his legates presided at any one of the first seven Councils. In the two cases where the imperial majesty was not represented, the Patriarch of Constantinople, not the Pope, conducted the Council. In some instances the emperors largely influenced the proceedings. Constantine treated the Nicene fathers with great deference; nevertheless, his voice was potent in the discussions. Eusebius of Cæsarea would not sign the decrees until he had first consulted his imperial master as to their meaning.

In the third place, the emperor ratified the decrees. He signed them, gave them legal validity, made them laws of the realm, and punished those who refused to obey them. Here again the Papal influence, in time, obtruded itself; but it was not until the Middle Ages that the Pope's ratification became absolutely necessary to give the decrees of a Council binding force.

II. *Composition of the Council.* The bishops sat in the Councils by divine right, as successors of the Apostles. Sometimes the inferior clergy took part in the discussions, as Arius, the presbyter, and Athanasius, the deacon, at Nicæa, but this was by consent. Such clergy had no *votum decisivum*, unless, as was not unfrequently the case, they sat as representatives of their bishops. In the Councils of the Roman Catholic Church the bishops alone sit by right, but cardinals, abbots, and generals of religious orders sit by privilege.

Strictly speaking, therefore, there has been no such thing as an Ecumenical Council. The laity and inferior clergy were expressly excluded. The most that can be said, is that the early Councils were representatively ecumenical. Still further, only a small part of the

episcopate was ever in actual attendance. We quote a passage from Dr. Schaff:

"The province of North Africa alone numbered many more bishops than were present at either the second, the third, or the fifth General Council. The Councils bore a prevaillingly Oriental character, were occupied with Greek controversies, used the Greek language, sat in Constantinople or in its vicinity, and consisted almost wholly of Greek members. The Latin Church was usually represented only by a couple of delegates of the Roman Bishop; though these delegates, it is true, acted more or less in the name of the entire West. Even the five hundred and twenty, or the six hundred and thirty members of the Council Chalcedon, excepting the two representatives of Leo I, and the two African fugitives accidentally present, were all from the East. The Council of Constantinople, in 381, contained not a single Latin bishop, and only one hundred and fifty Greek, and was raised to the ecumenical rank by the consent of the Latin Church toward the middle of the following century. On the other hand, the Council of Ephesus, in 449, was designed by Emperor and Pope to be an Ecumenical Council; but instead of this it has been branded in history as the synod of robbers, for its violent sanction of the Eutychian heresy. The Council of Sardica, in 343, was likewise intended to be a General Council, but immediately after its assembling assumed a sectional character, through the secession and counter-organization of the Eastern bishops."\*

Such facts, as these, it would seem, are rather damaging to the claim of infallibility. The voice of the Church, speaking through the bishops in council assembled, is infallible. But how many bishops must be in attendance? Can less than a majority speak for the Church? and if so, how small a minority? The theory is attended with insuperable difficulties.

III. *Jurisdiction and authority.* The Councils ranged over the whole field of doctrine, and morals, and of discipline. The doctrinal decrees were called dogmas or symbols; the disciplinary, canons. The former required a unanimous vote. But the means taken to secure unanimity were sometimes very extraordinary. The Robber Council of Ephesus reminds us of the Polish Diets, where the minority were either compelled to change their votes or, refusing, were slaughtered; other Councils remind us of the famous Long Parliament, so effectually "purged" by Colonel Pride. The authority of the Councils was supreme and final. The decrees were usually introduced with the Apostolic formula—*Visum est Spiritui Sancto et nobis*, "for it seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us." Those relating to doctrine and morals were early invested with infallibility. Constantine called the Nicene decrees a *divine command*; the

\* "History of the Christian Church," vol. ii, p. 333.

Council of Chalcedon pronounced them unalterable statutes, since God himself had spoken through them; the Council of Ephesus used this formula: "The Lord Jesus Christ, whom he [Nestorius] had blasphemed, determines through this most holy Council;" Gregory the Great placed the decrees of the first four Councils on a level with the four Gospels. Some of this phraseology may have been used in an accommodated sense, but it was all the fruit of an excessive veneration. There were men, however, in the ancient Church, as St. Augustine, who, while they did not regard the decrees as mere opinions that might be set aside by the private judgment of the believer, yet subordinated them to the Scriptures. The Roman Catholic theory is, not that Councils make dogmas, but that they infallibly declare what is taught in Scripture, and what has been handed down by tradition. "The Council of the Vatican," says *The Catholic World*, "will possess the same infallible authority with that which met at Jerusalem under St. Peter."

Perhaps no better opportunity will offer to speak of the number of the Councils, and of their relative rank. Seven are acknowledged by the Romanists, the Greeks, the Anglicans, and many of the Evangelicals to have been ecumenical. The first was held at Nicæa, A. D. 325; the second at Constantinople, 381; the third at Ephesus, 431; the fourth at Chalcedon, 451; the fifth at Constantinople, 553; the sixth at Constantinople, 680; the seventh at Nicæa, 787. Of these the first four outrank the others in dignity and importance. Here again we must discriminate. Nicæa and Chalcedon stand highest of all. To these seven the Roman writers add several others, for which they claim an ecumenical character. The claims of these are disallowed by all non-Catholic bodies,\* as the claims of the approaching Council of the Vatican will be.

IV. *The Spirit of the Councils.* The Catholic writers are now painting charming pictures of the serenity, the harmony, the Christ-like spirit that will prevail in the Council of the Vatican. The pictures that the historian paints of most that have gone before it are something very far from charming. St. Gregory Nazianzen, who had

\* The Roman writers do not agree in their lists. The following is the list of Bishop Dupanloup: Constantinople, 869; Lateran, 1123; Lateran, 1139; Lateran, 1179; Lateran, 1215; Lyons, 1245; Lyons, 1274; Vienna, 1311; Florence, 1439; Lateran, 1511; Franck, 1545. "Several sessions of the Council of Constance," he says, further, "have also been considered ecumenical."

been one of the presidents at Constantinople likened councils to "assemblies of cranes and geese." Some of the later councils would be more appropriately compared to dens of wild beasts. St. Gregory, when summoned by the Emperor to attend a synod, thus replied:

"To tell the truth, I am inclined to shun every collection of bishops, because I have never yet seen that a synod came to a good end, or abated evils instead of increasing them. For in these assemblies—and I do not think I express myself too strongly here—indescribable contentiousness and ambition prevail, and it is easier for one to incur the reproach of wishing to set himself up as a judge of the wickedness of others, than to attain any success in putting the wickedness away. Therefore I have withdrawn myself, and have found rest to my soul only in solitude."

"The meeting of a General Council," says Stanley, "is what a pitched battle is in military history." So far from the bishops coming together reverently to ask the Holy Spirit to lead them into all truth, they commonly come with their minds made up, their positions taken, bent on victory. They come to settle controversies that have taken deep hold of the prejudices and passions of the people. At Constantinople "every corner, every alley of the city was full of these discussions—the streets, the market-places, the drapers, the money-changers, the victualers. Ask a man 'how many oboli,' he answers by dogmatizing on generated and ungenerated being; inquire the price of bread, and you are told, 'the Son is subordinate to the Father;' ask if the bath is ready, and you are told, 'the Son arose out of nothing.'" In that age the marvelous Greek intellect had lost its power to create, but it reveled in the subtleties of theological metaphysics. It was in the period of which Gibbon wrote: "The road to Paradise—a bridge as sharp as a razor—was suspended over the abyss by the master-hand of the theological artist." In Egypt during the "wild outbreak," according to Eusebius, "bishop arose against bishop, district against district, only to be compared to the Symplegades on a stormy day." Sailors, millers, and travelers, at their occupations, or on their journeys, sang a theology so abstract that it can hardly be stated in the English language.\*

\* "For the purpose of popularizing his statements with the lower orders, Arius wrote some songs under the name of 'Thalia.' The songs were set to tunes, or written in meters, which had acquired a questionable reputation from their use in the licentious verses of the heathen poet Sotades, ordinarily used in the low revels or dances of Alexandria; and the grave Arius himself is said, in moments of wild excitement, to have danced like an

When councils assembled under such circumstances, it should not be a matter of surprise that scenes sometimes transpired which beggar description. We quote an extract from the report of the Council of Chalcedon:

"And when the most reverend Bishop Theodoret entered, the most reverend the Bishops of Egypt, Illyria, and Palestine shouted out, 'Mercy upon us! the faith is destroyed; the canons of the Church excommunicate him. Turn him out! turn out the teacher of Nestorius!' On the other hand, the most reverend the Bishops of the East, of Thrace, of Pontus, and of Asia shouted out: 'We were compelled—at the former Council—to subscribe our names to blank papers; we were scourged into submission. Turn out the Manichæans! turn out the enemies of Flavian; turn out the adversaries of the faith!' Dioscorus, the most reverend Bishop of Alexandria, said, 'Why is Cyril to be turned out? It is he whom Theodoret has condemned.' The most reverend the Bishops of the East shouted out: 'Turn out the murderer Dioscorus! Who knows not the deeds of Dioscorus?' The most reverend the Bishops of Egypt, of Illyria, and Palestine shouted out: 'Long life to the Empress!' The most reverend the Bishops of the East shouted out: 'Turn out the murderers!' The most reverend the Bishops of Egypt shouted out: 'The Empress turned out Nestorius; long life to the Catholic Empress! The orthodox synod refuses to admit Theodoret.' Theodoret then being at last received by the Imperial officers, and taking his place, the most reverend the Bishops of the East shouted out: 'He is worthy—worthy!' The most reverend the Bishops of Egypt shouted out: 'Do n't call him bishop; he is no bishop. Turn out the fighter against God; turn out the Jew!' The most reverend the Bishops of the East shouted out: 'The orthodox for the synod. Turn out the rebels; turn out the murderers!' The most reverend the Bishops of Egypt: 'Turn out the enemy of God; turn out the defamer of Christ. Long life to the Empress; long life to the Emperor; long life to the Catholic Emperor! Theodoret condemned Cyril. If we receive Theodoret, we excommunicate Cyril.'"

And we are to believe that, in the midst of such scenes as this, infallible truths were formulated! But scenes more discreditable and scandalous were sometimes enacted.

There is no sadder period in the history of the Church than that treated by Gibbon in his forty-seventh chapter. It covers the times of Cyril and Nestorius, of Eutyches and Dioscorus. The doctrine of the incarnation was the absorbing theme—a theme that, for some reason, has aroused more of the *rabies theologorum* than any other in the whole history of theological controversy. While the debate was still pending the famous Robber Council of Ephesus sat. It was in

eastern dervish, whilst he sang these abstract statements in long, straggling lines, of which about twenty are preserved to us. To us the chief surprise is, that any enthusiasm should be excited by sentences such as these: 'God was not always Father; once he was not Father; afterward he became Father.'—Stanley: "*History of the Eastern Church*," p. 223.

this Council that Flavian of Constantinople was so injured by being trampled beneath the feet of the bishops—Dioscorus, the President, coming down from his throne to mingle in the *melee*—that he died three days afterward. This Council, it is true, is not ranked among the Ecumenical Councils; but it was called in the usual manner and conducted in due form, and there is no reason why it has been robbed of its dignity, except that it became necessary to reverse its decrees. The blood of Flavian upon the Episcopal robes of the majority would not have been considered an objection; for was not the Council of Constance that sent John Huss to the stake "Ecumenical"?

Still, we should go wrong were we to dwell alone on the tumult, the intrigue, and the fanaticism. We have dwelt upon them because they show what so-called Christian assemblies, in darker ages, were capable of doing. Some of the councils have a comparatively clean record. At Nicæa there was plenty of excitement and hot temper; but it does not appear that it is chargeable with any thing scandalous or especially undignified. The fathers of Nicæa had not wholly lost the spirit of the Gospel. It is also quite true that in many of the other Councils men celebrated for learning, wisdom, and piety sat, and gave dignity and moral authority to the proceedings; in some of them men of this class may have predominated, but, on the whole, it is questionable whether bad men have often found assemblies that afforded them a better field in which to practice their peculiar arts. Still further, it must be observed that the councils have uniformly reflected the character of the age in which they sat, including a full share of its ignorance, its narrowness, and its fanaticism. We dismiss the topic with a quotation from the wise and temperate Milman:

"A General Council is not the cause, but the consequence, of religious dissension. It is unnecessary, and could hardly be convoked, but on extraordinary occasions, to settle some questions which have already violently disorganized the peace of Christendom. It is a field of battle in which a long train of animosities and hostilities is to come to an issue. Men, therefore, meet with all the excitement, the estrangement, the jealousy, the antipathy engendered by a fierce and obstinate controversy. They meet to triumph over their adversaries, rather than dispassionately to investigate truth. Each is committed to his opinions, each exasperated by opposition, each supported by a host of intractable followers, each probably with exaggerated notions of the importance of the question, and that importance seems to increase, since it has demanded the decision of a general assembly of Christendom." \*

\* "Latin Christianity," vol. i, p. 228.

The theory of the Ecumenical Council is, that it is called to meet some religious emergency, to condemn heresy, to declare the faith, to correct disorders. As it spoke with a voice more authoritative than the Pope himself, kings and emperors were accustomed to appeal to it in their conflicts with the Papacy. Catholic reformers looked to it as to their sheet-anchor. True, it is a sword that only the Pope can unsheathe; but the clamors of the people, the pleadings of reformers, and the demands of kings, have sometimes compelled him to draw it from its scabbard.

At the commencement of the Reformation councils were in high repute; only the Supreme Pontiff and his immediate adherents looked upon them with disfavor. They were regarded as fountains of cleansing and healing. Luther, sharing the common opinions, early appealed to a Council. But Christian Rome, in the days of Leo X, was what Pagan Rome had been in the days of Tacitus, "the common sink into which every thing infamous and abominable flowed from all quarters of the world," and the demand was unheeded. The situation is so well described by Mr. Lea that we quote a paragraph:

"The recollections of Constance and Bâle were full of pregnant warnings as to the almost inevitable antagonism between the Vicegerent of Christ and an independent representative body, believing itself to act under the direct inspiration of the Holy Ghost, claiming autocratic supremacy in the Church, and convoked for the special purpose of reforming abuses, the most of which were fruitful sources of revenue to the Papal Court. Such a body, assembled in Germany, would be the Pope's master; if in Italy, his tool; and it behooved him to act warily if he desired to meet the unanimous demand of Christendom, without risking the sacrifice of his most cherished prerogatives. Had the Council been called in the early days of the Reformation, it could hardly have prevented the separation of the Church; yet, in the temper which then existed, it would probably have effected as thorough a purification of the ecclesiastical establishment as was possible in so corrupt an age. By delaying it until the reactionary movement had fairly set in, the chances of troublesome Puritans gaining the ascendancy were greatly diminished, and the Papal Court exposed itself to little danger when, under the urgent pressure of the Emperor, it had at length, in 1536, proposed to convoke the long-desired assembly at Mantua."\*

When the Council was finally called to meet at Mantua, the Germans, both Protestants and Catholics, and Henry VIII, of England, refused to submit their claims to it. They insisted that it should meet where it would be less under the influence of the Pope. With

\* "History of Sacerdotal Celibacy," p. 439. ~



consummate ability the Papacy baffled them for nearly thirty years. It was not until 1562 that the Council entered seriously upon its business in the city of Trent. The whole history is suggestive of the relations that have sometimes existed between different constituent parts of the Catholic Church.

Concerning the approaching Council we have but a word to say. Its convocation is attributed to the Jesuits. Precisely *why* it has been called, it is difficult to tell. As we write there is still a prospect that it may be postponed, perhaps indefinitely. The bull of indiction is extremely vague. Catholic writers say human society is "profoundly troubled." They fail to see that it is only when it is troubled that society, like the pool of Bethesda, has healing virtue. Probably an attempt will be made to carry through the Council some of the offensive dogmas put forth in the Pope's Encyclical Letter and Syllabus of December, 1864. The commissions appointed to prepare business indicate only the range of topics to be considered. They are the following: The Supreme Directive Congregation; the Commission of Ceremonies; the Commission for Eastern Affairs; the Politico-Ecclesiastical Commission; the Commission on Religious Orders and Congregations; the Commission of Dogmatic Theology; the Commission of Ecclesiastical Discipline. Evidently Pius IX desires to have the Council pass off smoothly. There is reason to suppose not only that the matters to come before the Council will be decided on, but that the decrees themselves will be fully formulated in advance of its assembling. Happy will the aged Pontiff and the Jesuits who manage him be if the Council meekly approves their work!

Even from the Catholic point of view the Council of the Vatican would seem to be wholly uncalled for. That it can in any considerable degree influence society is absurd. Councils were never such momentous occurrences as many suppose. Besides, times have changed. We can study an Ancient or even a Middle Age Council with gravity; but a Council in the latter half of the nineteenth century—held in the midst of its intense, exciting, secular life—verily it is an anachronism! Still, if the Catholics think this is the fifteenth century, if they find pleasure in reviving the antique, if the flavor of Nicæa, Chalcedon, and Constance is agreeable to their tastes, Protestants can well afford to leave them to their momentary enjoyment.

## V.—WOMAN'S WORK IN THE CHURCH.

*Woman's Suffrage; the Reform against Nature.* By HORACE BUSHNELL. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1869.

*Woman as God Made Her: the True Woman.* By REV. J. D. FULTON. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1869.

THE interests involved in the subject herein to be treated are becoming so manifest that we can no longer either safely or innocently disregard them. To aid an investigation that may discover the whole truth as to woman's privileges in the kingdom of God, and that may ultimate in practically illustrating her unknown powers of "laboring in the Gospel," is the purpose of this brief attempt. It is a principle well settled among philosophers, that when any general ground-swell is felt in the public mind, even if it seek expression in some abnormal or monstrous development, there is, nevertheless, some truth, or some want in the heart of the community, that causes it, to which it is always well to give heed. Enceladus will turn over sometimes, and all Ætna can not keep him still. His groanings will be heard through some mouth-piece, in fiery eloquence that will alarm the indifferent, and compel attention to the relief of his heavy load.

Ever since the introduction of Christianity into the world woman has been rising from her heathen position toward her true relation as "partaker of the grace of life" with man. Her condition has paralleled the progress of civilization; and this has been marked by the progress of Christianity. And although the present demand for still extended rights to women does not *prove* an unjust limitation now, it at least demands an impartial re-examination of the whole question. It may be that the modern cry for "woman's rights," even unto suffrage and political office-seeking, is but the rebound of the mind from a sphere of action really too contracted, from a life too inactive and useless, the soul having had no outlet for a due expression of its active forces. A plant prevented from growing in its natural direction will seek abnormal growth. If the feet, or other parts of the body, be compressed in their growth, the vital

forces will express themselves in some deformity that could have been prevented by removing the obstructions to a natural and healthy development. It is not certain, but very probable, that had woman, during the last generation, enjoyed all her natural, civil, and religious privileges and outlets for doing good as the Bible teaches, these excrescent growths would never have appeared—so far, at least, as Christian women are concerned. While, therefore, we suggest no apology for the course of some political women, nor for their over-polite male attendants, whose feeble kindness leads only to the dethronement of woman from the sacredness of the position she now occupies, yet a certain palliation suggests itself even for the extremest views of those ladies who seem to be politicians “born out of due time.”

As the present purpose is to discuss her work in the Church, it will, of course, be out of the way to say any thing scarcely concerning her civil rights. Others have written up this part of the subject better than it could be done here. The opportunity, however, should not be lost of expressing the conviction that some of our civil laws relating to the property of women—especially widows—are exceedingly unfair; that much of the prejudice against her making a living by certain kinds of secular employment, is wholly inexcusable. That popular opinion should, for example, frown upon her studying medicine under female teachers, and practicing it among her own sex especially, and among children, is as unpardonable on the part of men as would be the desire of a woman to stump the State in a political campaign. But as this is not our theme we shall leave it to other hands, and try to preserve our unity of thought by examining the New Testament as to the work of woman in the Christian Church.

The principal difficulty in our way arises from apparent contradictions in the Epistles as to her privileges in the Church. In two instances she is commanded to be in “silence,” not to “teach nor to usurp authority over the man,” and “if she will learn any thing, let her ask her husband at home.” On the other hand, she had the gift of prophecy, which seems to have endowed her with the right to edify the Church. And this allusion obliges us, before proceeding farther, to determine the real meaning of the word “prophecy” as used in the New Testament, and then ascertain whether prophecy was truly a part of woman’s work in the Primitive Church. For the

etymological definition of the term involving its common use we refer to Dr. Wm. Smith's Bible Dictionary: "The ordinary Hebrew word for *prophet* is *nâbi*, derived from a verb signifying 'to bubble forth' like a fountain. Hence, the word means one who announces or pours forth the declarations of God. The English word comes from the Greek *prophetes*, which signifies, in classical Greek, one who *speaks for another*, especially one who speaks for a god, and so interprets his will to man. Hence, its essential meaning is *interpreter*. The use of the word in its modern sense, as 'one who predicts,' is post-classical!" Foretelling was but a small part of the prophet's work. See Nathan rebuking David, Jonah preaching repentance to the Ninevites, and all the major and minor prophets reproofing and instructing Israel and Judah, restoring and expounding the law, and they will appear as teachers—Jewish preachers—rather than as mere foretellers. *Pro* means *for*, rather than *before*. They spake for God, "reproofing, rebuking, and exhorting with all long-suffering and doctrine."

John the Baptist was a greater prophet than any of his predecessors, the chief business of whose life was to preach repentance, and prepare a people for the Lord. Jesus was a prophet of God, mighty in word and deed, and yet but little of his time was spent in predicting.

With these practical definitions of the word as used previous to the establishment of the Church of Christ, what might we expect "prophesy" to mean in the New Testament, with no hint given of a change in the work of a prophet? And that such is its meaning in the New Covenant is manifest from the writings of Paul in several places. "He that prophesieth speaketh unto men to edification, and exhortation, and comfort." (1 Cor. xiv, 3.) "He that prophesieth edifieth the Church." (Verse 4.) In the following verse prophesying is made the equivalent of speaking with tongues and interpreting, "that the Church may—in both cases alike—receive edifying." Again: "Ye may all prophesy, one by one, that all may *learn*, and all may be *comforted*." Without burdening the page with quotations, it is plain that prophesying was for comforting, edifying, and exhorting, and that all *might learn*. It is not denied that foretelling future events belonged to the prophets, but neither in the Old or New Covenant was this the principal part of their labor.

We are now ready to inquire whether women possessed the gift of prophecy in the Primitive Church, or whether it was confined to the men. Here again we must appeal to the Scriptures as our only guide in a dark place. "It shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh: and your sons and *your daughters shall prophesy*. . . And on my servants and *on my handmaidens* will I pour out of my Spirit in those days; and *they shall prophesy*." (Acts ii, 17, 18.) This is a quotation from the prophet Joel, uttered in reference to the Christian dispensation and the Christian Church.

In the same book—Acts of the Apostles—we learn that Philip the evangelist had "four daughters who did prophesy." That is, four daughters who, in some way, aided in the edification and instruction of the Church. In 1 Cor. xi, 5, also, we read: "Every woman that prayeth or prophesieth with her head uncovered dishonoreth her head, for that is even all one as if she were shaven"—a mark or penalty sometimes fixed upon the disreputable, and, of course, to be avoided by Christian women. "And if it be a shame for her to be shaven or shorn, let her then be covered," while prophesying. This injunction, as to covering the head, doubtless grew out of the habits of the times and of society, and was intended to guard the Church from evil report; and although the occasion for such caution may have entirely passed away, the fact remains that women in the Primitive Church did prophesy. Whatever this fact may lead to—the subversion of long-settled convictions, or even the public ministry of women in the congregation—the fact itself remains, no more to be ignored or denied than that the disciples met together on the first day of the week to break bread.

Anna was a prophetess fourscore years of age. (Luke ii.) Deborah was a prophetess, and judged Israel. (Judges iv, 5.) "She was not so much a judge as one gifted with prophetic command." Miriam, the sister of Moses and Aaron, the three deliverers—Micah vi, 4—was also a "prophetess"—a gift that expressed itself in her poetry and music. (Ex. xv, 20.) But above all the Jewish prophetesses, Huldah, the wife of Shallum, stands pre-eminent in being appealed to by the king, when Hilkiah, the priest, found the book of the law, to obtain an authoritative opinion concerning it. When the king "inquired of the Lord," he sent to Huldah.

This induction, together with the definition and use of the term, demonstrate that when the Jewish Church was being merged into the Christian, the latter would feel no shock of its sense of propriety in seeing women possessed of the gift of prophecy. They knew that both Huldah and Deborah had interpreted the will of God, that Miriam had borne a conspicuous part with her brothers in the exodus of their nation, and were hence not unprepared to see the "daughters" and "handmaidens" receive the gift of prophecy, and speak to the "comfort, exhortation, and edification of the Church." (1 Cor. xiv, 5.)

Notwithstanding all this, Paul has legibly written it: "Let your women keep silence in the Churches, for it is not permitted to them to speak, for it is a shame for women to speak in the Church," and the difficulty is to reconcile this with the indisputable fact of their possessing the gift of prophecy. Should it be urged that this gift was exercised in private worship and not in the congregation, the reply might be that her "praying or prophesying with her head covered" clearly implies the publicity of these devotions—that the necessity of covering the head could not apply to her private devotions, morning and evening, in her own private apartments. This approaches that sharp line and true distinction to be drawn where so often two truths face each other in such attitude as to threaten inevitable collision. But as all our trouble in such cases arises from our failure to assign to each truth its proper limits, and not from any real opposition of truth to truth, hope may always be indulged that a little more study may make it plain. The question then returns to us: What position did Primitive Christian women occupy that was public enough to demand the vail upon their heads, and yet not as public as pulpit preaching—what position between the closet and the rostrum that suits the exercise of their undeniable powers of doing good both in "edifying, exhorting, and comforting" the Church?

That women did labor in the Gospel in some way is evident from many Scriptures. "I beseech thee also, true yokefellow, help those women who labored with me in the Gospel, with Clement also, and with other my fellow-laborers, whose names are in the book of life." (Phil. iv, 3.) Who these women were we are not informed. Lydia may have been among them. Whoever they were, they were in the

*habit* of "laboring in the Gospel," not only with Paul, but "with Clement also," and other ministers of the Gospel—Paul's "fellow-laborers." All ministers visiting and laboring in Philippi—Timothy, Erastus, and Silas were doubtless among them—were aided by these sisters in some way in the furtherance of the Gospel.

Of Phœbe, servant—*diakonos*—of the Church at Cenchrea, it is said, "She hath been a succorer of many, [ministers,] and of myself also." Here again we are uninformed as to the particular way in which she was "a helper of many," but it is very plain that she was more than a servant of the Church in merely carrying the Epistle to the Romans from the hand of Paul; for it was her habit to succor all ministers who came to Cenchrea. Whether she or any other woman was a deaconess in an official sense, or simply a volunteer in every good work, is a matter of little consequence in this paper, as it is their *work*, official or unofficial, we are seeking to ascertain. That she was useful in the cause of Christ in more ways than one is more than probable, since it was customary in those days to make messengers of those who could not only bear tidings, but do good in other ways at the same time. The brethren of Antioch sent their contributions to Jerusalem "by the hands of Barnabas and Saul." The Church at Philippi sent pecuniary aid to Paul by Epaphroditus, "a companion in labor and fellow-soldier." Also when the collections were sent from Macedonia and Achaia to Jerusalem, Paul and other ministers were selected for that purpose—perhaps in order that more than one purpose might be effected by the same instrumentalities; and Phœbe, being the bearer of this important letter, was probably able also to do other service suitable for Christian women.

Having now seen that, while the platform is not the scene of woman's activities in the Church, and also that her ministries are not confined to the closet nor even to private in-door labors, we proceed to specify a few of the many fields of Christian activity that open to her, and which she must enter if the work of the Lord is to prosper in our hands.

The modern notion that teaching, prophesying, and all kindred ministries are, for the most part, to be performed in the pulpit, or in some way before public assemblies, is the chief cause of confusion as to this subject. The field of action being considered so circum-



scribed, and the true scene of labor, where most of the Christian activities ought to present themselves, being practically ignored or despised, a rush is being made for the pulpit as the only outlet for those sisters who would "labor in the Gospel." The logical conclusion of many reasonings is, that unless we lay upon Christian women the burdens of evangelists, bishops, elders, circuit riders, curates, rectors, immersers, and traveling revivalists, there is little for them to do. The pulpit mania is characteristic of these degenerate days. Teaching is all to be done in the pulpit, not "from house to house." Paul was behind the times. "By the space of three years he ceased not to warn *every one*, distributively, night and day, with tears." Individual improprieties, that require, mainly, personal correction, must be harangued at from the pulpit. Warnings to sinners must all come at long range from the pulpit. Christianity is to be taught, young disciples are to be encouraged, meeting-houses to be built, missionary cause to be promoted, prayer meetings and Sunday schools to be kept up, and almost every other good to be monopolized by the pulpit. Not that this mania has seized the good women especially, but such seems to be the teaching and practice of the times; and women, assuming it to be correct, have felt the narrowness of their sphere, and seek expression in what seems to be the almost only method of laboring in the Gospel. And in this view it is not easy to see how Phœbe could be a "succorer of many" preachers; or how those other women who "labored with Paul, with Clement, and other fellow-laborers," could do so without occupying the platform. It is assumed that prophesying was all performed in public, and hence the apparent contradiction between this and Paul's prohibition of public preaching as to the sisterhood. It is admitted that prophesying was not a closet observance, neither can it be proved that this work was done upon the platform, nor is it necessary, as there is a wide field of operation embraced in neither of these.

It is quite certain that no very large part of the labors, either of Jesus or his Apostles, was performed in the public assemblies. They "went about doing good." "Daily in the temple and in every house they ceased not to teach and preach Jesus Christ." Philip preached to the eunuch in a carriage on the way. Paul and Silas preached to the jailer and his house at midnight. On the dispersion at Jerusalem the disciples went every-where, preaching to whomsoever they met,

"in season and out of season." The habits of these times encourage preaching *in* season—at regular appointments, at stated times, in congregations convened to hear preaching—but not out of season—"When thou comest in, and when thou goest out; when thou liest down, and when thou risest up," by the wayside, from house to house, without appointment, and without invitation. Were this method of preaching still recognized, there would be no lack of opportunity for godly women to "labor in the Gospel" to the full extent of their ability, just as they did in the days of the Apostles. We do not claim that the New Testament specifies every act of service a Christian woman can perform, but that there is light enough to guide her in her highest and holiest efforts for the Savior.

It is competent for her to do any work a *Christian* ought to do, except the one act of *pulpit* preaching, which in the division of labor God has assigned to men. And this is no disparagement of her usefulness in the Church any more than man's usefulness is underestimated by the assignment of a certain work to women that men could not very well perform. (See Titus ii, 5.) Man is just as unfit to teach "the young women to be chaste, keepers at home," etc., as woman is to be presiding elder. All members of the body can not and ought not to perform the same part of the work. If, however, Divine Wisdom had intimated no division of labor between Christian men and women, "nature itself would teach us" that the rostrum part of it is not that which woman could perform the best; and even if the abstract *right* to be a traveling evangelist through heat and cold, over sea and land, in the highways and hedges, and to bear the brunt, as Paul did, be granted, it might still be a question whether this would be the most judicious division of labor. Horace Mann said: "A woman has a *right to sing bass*," but the fact that singing bass would not be the most useful exertion of her vocal capacity, would of itself suggest her true vocal *rights*. God, who made each member of the body, has assigned each its own work, and woman has no more right to complain (as only a few do) of the inhibition as to public preaching than man has of the implied prohibition above referred to. It is very probable that when Christianity began to release woman from her menial heathen condition, the rebound of mind to another extreme, developing some of the obnoxious features of our modern "strong-minded" women, inducing confusion in the Church, was the immediate

cause of Paul's commands. Certainly the intention was not to restrict them in any good work to which their gifts and calling adapted them. Any thing, then, that a *Christian* may do, may be done by a Christian woman, with the single exception named; and under this generalization may be noticed the following specifications:

1. The gift of prophecy belonged both to men and women. Men prophesied both from "the sacred desk," as the moderns would say, and also in a more private way; women in the latter method only, which is the more important of the two, as appears from the fact that all of woman's powers and time, and the greater part of man's, were anciently engaged in this way. That prophesying means speaking to "edification, exhortation, and comfort of the Church, is also patent from 1 Cor. xi, 3. That edifying the Church does not necessarily involve public preaching has been proved before. A broad field lies open to every disciple in personal labor from house to house, in Sunday-schools, in private Bible classes, and in a thousand ways now overlooked by the constant gaze upon the pulpit as the coveted field of usefulness. Such is the tendency, even with some ministers, to overlook the value of all labor outside of the pulpit that no greater blessing, perhaps, could come upon them and their Churches than some civil disability that would forbid their public preaching by the space of five years, at least, leaving them no means of access to the public mind but that of teaching "from house to house." This would be followed by several good results. It would train the preacher's mind to habits of laboring "out of season;" it would teach him how to preach privately; it would bring woman into the field by exalting that kind of labor she is so eminently fitted to perform; it would drive from the ministerial office all men possessed of too little religion to labor in this way; it would develop a new class of men, not possessed, indeed, of much pulpit ability, but capable of building up the saints by private ministrations in their most holy faith; it would convert the world, revive the Church, and inaugurate a new era among men. How many men of God, burdened with the desire to continue day and night in the temple, if only their families could be fed and clothed, are kept out of the field because they are not pulpit orators! How many women would gladly "labor much in the Lord," if their abilities and their proper field of labor

were recognized by men! The number of laborers that could be brought into the field from these two classes would astonish the very men who are constantly praying "the Lord of the harvest to send forth laborers into his harvest." No marvel that in ancient days "multitudes were added to the Lord," when multitudes of laborers were in the field. Those scattered abroad on the persecution that arose about Stephen, went every-where—to Samaria, Cyprus, Phenice, and Antioch—preaching the Word, whether they could perform well in the pulpit or not. Philip, the evangelist, and some others doubtless, preached publicly, but many women, as well as men, prophesied from house to house, pressing the Word home to the consciences of thousands who would listen to no public discourse.

2. Whether an order of women was set apart in the Apostolic Churches called "deaconesses" is not certain. The simple circumstance of Phœbe's being called a *diakonos* of the Church at Cenchrea is hardly conclusive, since this term is as generic in its use as the Latin word *minister*. Christ was called a deacon (*diakonos*) of the circumcision. Paul was a deacon, Timothy a deacon ("a good *diakonos* of Jesus Christ"). Satan also has his deacons, who are transformed as the *diakonoï* of righteousness—sometimes used in an official and sometimes in an unofficial sense. Still, there are several circumstances to be stated, which, if they fail to prove official position for certain women in the Church, do not fail to prove a very special work for them to do in the furtherance of the Gospel.

a. Phœbe was a *servant of the Church* at Cenchrea. She served *the Church*, then, in some way. Could this be said of every sister in that Church? If so, a *diakonos* of a Church means simply a member of that Church. If *diakonos* means any thing more than a member, or even an active member, Phœbe must have held some appointment under the Church authorities. A servant of God, a servant of a king, a government, and a servant of a Church would each seem to be under employ.

b. We are told in Titus ii, 3, that "the aged women should be in behavior as becometh holiness, not false accusers, not given to much wine, *teachers of good things; that they may teach the young women to be sober, to love their husbands, to love their children, to be discreet, chaste, keepers at home, obedient to their own husbands that the Word of God be not blasphemed.*" Here, although no official

position is predicated of these aged women, an abundant work is laid open before them—a work of teaching, prophesying, speaking, though not in the pulpit, yet “speaking unto edification, exhortation, and comfort.” This passage is perhaps the foundation of the convictions of many that certain godly women ought to be set apart in every Church to minister in many things among their own sex. If old women teach the younger to love their husbands, and to be keepers at home, they would not be suspected of self-interest, as men might be; and surely exhortations to be obedient to their own husbands, and especially to be chaste, would come with more propriety from the aged women than even from the oldest bishops of the Church. The entire field of labor lying in this direction is not only open to women, but legitimately belongs to them under the superintendence of the elders. If in Crete there was no order of deaconesses set apart for this business, it is very certain that the ministers of the Churches were to enlist the “aged women” in this service. Paul commanded Titus to see that this work was done by the older sisters. Titus was responsible for putting all the Church forces into operation, and if modern ministers felt the same responsibility there would be fewer idlers in the Church than now, more laborers in the vineyard, fewer lifeless members, because fewer that have nothing to do.

c. In the last chapter of Romans the names of six different women are given, with the following notices:

Phœbe “has been a succorer of many and of myself also.”

Aquila and Priscilla for Paul’s life “laid down their own necks,” to whom “not only he but all the Churches of the Gentiles give thanks.” She helped her husband to save Paul’s life.

Mary—“who bestowed much labor on us.”

Tryphena and Tryphosa—“who labor in the Lord.”

The beloved Persis—“who labored much in the Lord.”

Upon these passages we may remark,

*First.* That the Greek word here translated *labor* signifies “labor unto weariness or fatigue,” so that the services rendered by those women were not an occasional visit to the sick, or the preparing an occasional meal for the Apostle. They “labored much in the Lord,” and “bestowed much labor on us.” Besides the expression “Salute Tryphena and Tryphosa, who LABOR in the Lord,” seems to indicate

a *habit* of so laboring then existing, and not an occasional good deed. And if it be asked what particular duties these all performed, we reply, they did any thing that the Bible enjoins on *Christians*, except the public preaching and government of the Church, which God, in the division of labor, has laid upon men.

*Second.* The fullest account we have of the labor of any one woman in the primitive Church is that of Priscilla. Banished from Rome with her husband, Paul first found them in Corinth, with whom he worked at tent-making, and whom he probably converted by private preaching—preaching “out of season.” He took them with him to Ephesus, where the two took Apollos apart and “expounded to him the way of the Lord more perfectly.” In this case a woman was found capable of teaching a man, nor was it any infraction of the law, for they took him *unto themselves*, and taught him. If Aquila was a public teacher, the manner of her assistance may have been illustrated by the labors of Christian woman traveling with her evangelist husband. While he taught “publicly and from house to house,” she “ceased not in every house to teach and preach Jesus Christ.” She could reach many to whom he had no access. Besides this she, every morning, had a large Bible class, intended principally for her own sex, but which was soon filled up with all classes of hearers, many of whom learned the way of the Lord more perfectly who might never have been affected from the pulpit. This was one of those women who “labored much in the Lord;” and while she never threw away the charm of female modesty on the rostrum, she often spoke to edification, to comfort, and exhortation.

Priscilla seems to have traveled somewhat with her husband in this holy ministry. She was in Corinth, in Cenchrea, in Syria, in Ephesus, and back again in Rome, where a congregation of disciples met in their house, and was so committed to the work that, with her husband, she had been a succorer of many ministers, and at one time was willing to lay down her neck for Paul's life, and received the thanks of all the Churches of the Gentiles therefor.

But if we desire modern instances of what Christian women can do in the Gospel of Christ, look at the missionary women in the Orient. More than one half of all the labor done to rescue the heathen is the work of women. They teach religion in families, read the Scriptures to them, distribute Bibles, tracts, and other religious

literature, educate the youth, instruct the heathen women in the knowledge of God. Of such Paul would say, "Help those women who labored in the Gospel with me and with Clement also, and other of my fellow-laborers whose names are in the Book of Life." "Salute Tryphena and Tryphosa, who labor in the Lord," and "the beloved Persis, who labored much in the Lord." Seeing there was no need to detail the special kinds of work they performed when, with a single exception, the whole field of Christian activity lies open before them, and, as before intimated, had not the people almost deified the pulpit as the almost only sphere of usefulness, no clamor for wider fields would ever have been heard from these "helpers in Christ Jesus."

In confirmation of what has been said of the usefulness of woman's labor as missionaries, we quote from the *Eighth Report of the Woman's Union Missionary Society*, under the caption of "Woman's Work:"

"If ever there was a work adapted to Christian women it is that which this Society represents. It was organized and incorporated in 1861, and has gone on with increasing usefulness until now. Its object is the conversion of their Oriental sisters, and the lifting up to a higher and more intelligent existence the secluded, we may almost say *imprisoned*, females of India and China.

"Shut up in their zenanas, they pass a listless, languid existence, the mere playthings of their sensual masters, having no aspirations above the daily insipid routine of animal life. How shall these precious souls be reached, and roused, and made to feel that they are immortal and responsible? Our *men* missionaries can not get access to them. A veteran in mission work said to Mrs. N.: 'The Gospel needs to be taken to the *women* of India, but, as a man, I feel myself cut off from half the people.' 'It is utterly impossible,' says another, 'for a preacher of the Gospel in heathen lands to make any attempt for the culture of women.' 'Raise the women of India,' says another, 'and you lift 200,000,000 from gross idolatry.' It is God who started this enterprise. Single women, moved by love to Christ and the soul, have found their way into the zenanas, and, sitting beside the imprisoned inmates, have told them of Jesus and his love, and the languid eye has kindled and the heart has been touched."

Thus may women labor in the Gospel; and thousands are already there, where thousands more should be sent, to carry the light to those who sit in the region and shadow of death.

But why do the Scriptures lay the preaching in public entirely on men? For two reasons:

1. It is the best division of labor. If women had a *right* to fell the forests, to act the warrior, to preach in the forum, to be bruised



and battered at the polls, and assume the *toga virilis*, still the exercise of that right would be very questionable. We speak of man's sphere and woman's sphere, but the truth is neither of them has a sphere, but each a hemisphere. The two united make a sphere, and God has forbidden the one to occupy the position of the other. The Jewish law forbade their dressing alike. "The woman shall not wear that which pertaineth to a man, neither shall a man put on a woman's garment, for all that do so are abomination unto the Lord." (Deut. xxii, 5.) In the same spirit it is said, it is "a shame for a man to have long hair," as it is also a shame for a woman to have "her head shaven or shorn." The Lord does not love "manly women," nor "womanly men." They both alike are "abomination unto the Lord." For a man to affect softness and delicacy, instead of strength and courage, is no less disgraceful than for a woman to affect masculinity and seek outdoor notoriety at the hustings, in the halls of Congress, or on the battle-field. She should neither be elected constable, sheriff, nor policeman; she should neither plow nor reap, nor gather into barns; she has no right to be a blacksmith, a grave-digger, nor a "rail-splitter;" a city scavenger, a steamboat captain, or a sailor; in brief she has no right to act the man. The Church has no need of such, nor the government, nor does any man fit to be a husband desire any such "strong-minded" woman for a wife. A true woman despises femininity in a man, because he is trenching upon ground he has no right to. What if men should clamor for some of the precious rights of woman, the right of protection, support, exemption from war, from field, and shop labor, etc., and claim that otherwise there was no equality—has not God assigned each sex their proper place, and granted a certain superiority to each? That these respective hemispheres have been wisely marked out in the Bible every day's experience and all sound philosophy continually attest.

2. Another reason for forbidding women to preach publicly grew out of the state of society then existing. Woman suddenly feeling the enfranchising power of the Gospel, and learning that in "Christ there is neither male nor female," naturally enough committed some excesses that were about to place her among the discreditable in society. Throwing off the veil and other symbols of modesty seemed at once to classify her with certain disreputable women. Tacitus informs us (*De moribus Germanorum*) that the Germans of that day

always punished prostitutes by cutting off their hair or shaving the head, to which suspicion Christian women were not allowed to expose themselves by any supposed liberty of the Gospel, or by any assumption of unveiled manliness. The dress of the sexes in those days being so much alike, the appearance of a woman with short hair was not dissimilar to that of a man, and presented an indecency about the same as if a woman would nowadays go about with men's clothes on. Paul was protecting women against slander and "shame," and should receive the thanks instead of the censures of women of modern times.

If women, by their dress, or the part they wish to take in public affairs, assume the place of men, they should be content to take men's fare, and renounce their special privileges. The special courtesies extended in public and private circles, on the streets, in public conveyances, and every-where should never be looked for if there be no difference between the hemisphere of man and that of woman. But if there be such distinction marked out, both by nature and revelation, it involves distinctive duties for each, among which voting, holding political and military offices, public preaching, and baptizing certainly do not belong to women.

Another fact in ancient society that made it necessary for Paul to protect Christian women was found in the conduct of the heathen priestesses, whose unveiled ravings, disheveled hair, and disregard of female modesty made it necessary to avoid all appearance of effrontery on the part of sisters in the Church, "that the Word of God be not blasphemed," and lest the prophesyings of the one, and the Delphic afflatus of the other, should be confounded as one and the same. (See *Æneid* vi, 1-48.) We hence conclude that, to secure the best division of labor, and to protect both the constitution and character of women, they are excused from the pulpit department of Christian labor. This would seem in no way to interfere with her songs, and prayers, and teachings in a more private way. Her influence in Sunday schools, social meetings, Bible classes, "from house to house"—in raising money for missionary and other benevolent objects, in special instructions to her own sex, in praying with the sick and dying, in caring for young members, and in all the holy ministries now opening and soliciting her zeal in missionary labor, both at home and broad—into all these fields she should be

called, nor will the Church of Christ ever discover her innate power until woman is invited into these many fields of usefulness, and supported in the work. Already in foreign missionary fields there are two women for every man engaged, and happy is that people who can enlist the exquisite talent, the genius, the spiritual insight, the intuitions, and the unselfish, heroic affections of this prize essay from the hand of God; but let her ever be protected from the asperities intended only for man, "because of the angels."

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## VI.—JERUSALEM.

*City of the Great King; or, Jerusalem as it was, as it is, and as it is to be.* By J. T. BARCLAY. Philadelphia: James Challen & Sons.

*Palestine, Past and Present.* By REV. HENRY S. OSBORNE, A. M. Philadelphia: James Challen & Sons.

*Tent Life in the Holy Land.* By WM. C. PRIME. New York: Harper & Brothers.

*Sinai and Palestine, in connection with their History.* By ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY, D. D. New York: W. J. Widdleton.

*The Comparative Geography of Palestine and the Sinaitic Peninsula.* By CARL RITTER. 4 vols. 8vo. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

*The Land and the Book; or, Biblical Illustrations drawn from the Manners and Customs, the Scenes and Scenery of the Holy Land.* By REV. W. M. THOMPSON. 2 vols. New York: Harper & Brothers.

*The Far East; or, Letters from Egypt, Palestine, and other Lands.* By N. C. BURT, D. D. Cincinnati: R. W. Carroll & Co.

*The Land and the Story.* By N. C. BURT, D. D. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

TO the critical student of the literature relating to Jerusalem, or the close observer who has sojourned in its midst, it is not necessary to say that it is not the purpose of the writer to exhaust, in the limits of a single article, any department of the subject. The attempt would be as unwise as unsuccessful.

Nor has the writer any theory to establish, or any new solution of topographical difficulties to present at this time. His purpose, in the present article, is simply to present, as succinctly as possible, an epitome of Jerusalem, briefly touching upon the various departments

into which a consideration of the subject naturally divides, with the object of attracting the attention of the reader to Palestinian literature, and leading to its more thorough study.

If, notwithstanding the fragmentary character that must necessarily belong to the treatment of so broad a subject in limits so narrow, he shall succeed in the object mentioned, he will be abundantly gratified, and neither expect nor desire praise for any other excellency; and he begs that his work may be judged by its fitness for this his object, and not by the rigorous demands of some more critical purpose, which his modesty would not allow him to form or his ability to achieve.

No apology is necessary for the selection of the theme. By a common consent of all the peoples of the earth who worship the true God, whether Christian or Theistic, the sometime stronghold of David, the once splendid capital of Judea, the beautiful star in the eastern crown of Rome, has become, even in its desolation, and shame, and sorrow, the center of a religious interest such as attaches to no other spot of earth.

The skeptic may sneer at it, but the sneer does not extinguish the fact. There is not a country on earth where idolatry does not exist, in which Jerusalem is not enshrined in the affections of the people, nor a professedly idolatrous land which reveres it. The votary of the Koran, the devotee of the Pentateuch, and the disciple of the New Testament each gives affectionate thought and reverential emotion to Jerusalem. And these are the three books that control the destinies of the world. The only two great rival religious systems, those of India and China, are to-day expiring in the grasp of these.

The pilgrim from Mecca meets in Jerusalem the voyager from the extreme of the Occident, and the inhabitant of Siberia casts the fur from his form, as he jostles in the gate the swarthy Ethiopian or Nubian, who wraps his scanty covering closer round him in the cool night breeze of the Judean hills. And all have come on a *religious* errand. They meet here as upon common ground, and their voices mingle with the sad wail of "the nation without a clime," as the great stones of the temple wall grow daily more smooth beneath the passionate touch of their moist lips.

Whether to be regarded as cause or consequence, it is surely not without significant interest that Jerusalem is thus symbolically

associated with the worship of the one God, and that, as a Shibboleth, it would scarcely shut out a single worshiper. If to the Christian there is not a nameless but a nameful charm beyond all the rest, by so much is he the gainer.

Jerusalem, the city of the Great King, "the joy of the whole earth," "the desire of all nations," (the last phrase most significant of all to-day,) is not only "a city set on a hill," but set upon hills of hills. It is a long weary climb through defiles and over hill-tops, after we leave the plain of Sharon, ere the first sight of *El-khuds*; and this, the first sight to him who comes by way of the Mediterranean, is, perhaps, the poorest of all in some particulars.

The journey is not so intolerable now as formerly, however, for the permanency of Eastern life and custom has given way for once to modern improvement. All who ever rode to Jerusalem by the Yafa road will appreciate the wealth of significance in the statement that there is to-day a road to Jerusalem, from its seaport, practicable for carriages, and above all that an American omnibus makes occasional trips between the two localities. Those who have *not* been there will share in appreciation if they will remember that, excepting the French road from Beirout to Damascus, there is no other in Palestine proper over which a wheeled vehicle can be used.

At a distance of thirty-six miles from Yafa, as the crow flies—a little more by the traveled route—and after having gradually attained an elevation of two thousand six hundred and ten feet above the level of the sea, we at length stand upon a broad ridge, thrown out in a south-east direction from the main range of Judean hills nearly at the water-shed of Palestine. Not far from this the mountain torrent of Wady Surar finds its way, in the wet season, down through that extensive though ribbon-like gorge, until, under the name of Nahr Rubin, it empties into the Mediterranean, while from almost the same point, certainly the same longitude, flow torrents that empty, through Wady Kelt, into the Jordan, or through Wady en-Nar, into the Dead Sea.

This ridge, at its eastern extremity, spreads out into an irregularly-shaped peninsula, which, with the ridge, from a perpendicular bird's-eye view, might not inaptly be compared to the head and neck of an ox in profile, the extremity pointing to the south. With the exception of the part joining it to the neck, it is surrounded on all sides

by deep valleys, called, on the north and east, Kedron or Jehoshaphat ; on the south and south-west, Hinnom. At no place, except on the north-west, can it be reached without making the descent of a deep and generally steep, sometimes precipitous, valley. It has a mean length of about two thousand five hundred yards ; a mean breadth of about one thousand five hundred, narrowing, at the southern extremity, to less than eight hundred.

Retaining the figure already used, we might say that midway of the connection between head and neck, a slight depression, say three hundred yards broad, begins, pursuing a south-easterly and then southerly course, deepening and narrowing, and longitudinally dividing the head into two parts, of which the easternmost is the largest. Its position very nearly corresponds to the proper position of the division line of the jaws in the figure. This is the valley of the Tyropæon in its lower part, the upper now nameless, but supposed by Dr. Barclay to be the Gihon.

Just where the eyebrow would properly come is another valley, running off to the south-east (or rather *was*, for much of it is now filled up,) and disappearing in Jehoshaphat, which is called in Scripture "the valley of the dead bodies and of the ashes." Another depression starts just opposite the lower part of the neck, and running eastwardly is lost in the Tyropæon. This is scarcely perceptible at the present time.

These surrounding valleys and traversing depressions break the surface into five eminences, which, adhering to our figure, will give Goath directly in the forehead, Bezetha between the eye and the lower jaw, Akra in the lower jaw nearest to the neck, Zion in the extremity of the lower jaw, and Moriah, bearing the Temple inclosure, with its continuation Ophel, occupying the upper jaw from the eye to its extremity.

This peninsula embraces an area of about two million five hundred thousand square yards. The first town within its limits was probably built upon Akra, but the city of David occupied Zion. In the progress of years, however, the city spread through the Tyropæon and over Ophel on the south, and northward and north-east to Jehoshaphat, finally making the entire peninsula one mass of buildings, teeming with population, and, at the time of the great feasts, containing from two to three millions of people.

Under the ravages of successive destructions and readjustments of boundaries, the city has gradually shrunk until, at the present time, it occupies not much over one-third of the peninsula, lying almost in its center. Its shape may be called a distorted parallelogram, of which the Temple inclosure, in the south-east corner, presents the only intact angle, the impulse, in looking at the plan, being to push the deflected sides back to their proper position. In consequence of this deflection the northern and southern sides run in an irregular line from north-east to south-west, while the west side runs in a line also broken from north-west to south-east. The east wall alone is straight.

The walls are quite respectable in character, though exhibiting several phases and eras of building, and, therefore, considerable patching. For the purpose they are intended to subserve, protection from the nomads of the wilderness, I suppose they are amply sufficient, but it would require no very extended siege with Parrott guns to accomplish their breach. They are supposed to occupy at present very nearly the same site as at the time of the Crusades, but the present lines have but few points of coincidence with any one of the three walls existing before the destruction under Titus.

Herod, Hadrian, the Crusaders, and Sultan Suliman have all memorials of their reign in the present wall, the Jewish remains, as is fitting, being the grandest of all. The present height of the walls varies from twenty to eighty feet, according to the character of the ground upon which they are built.

But five gates now supply the place of the great number whose names, given by Nehemiah, Josephus, etc., have furnished bones of contention for the archæologist, and which once adorned the city on its various sides. But four of these five are regularly used, the fifth, Babel Mugharibeh, being open only in times of scarcity of water, because of its vicinity to Siloam and Job's Well. We might name these, descriptively, the Yafa gate, on the west—the gate of commerce; the gate on the north, the Damascus gate—the gate of political glory; that on the east, St. Stephen's gate—the sacred gate of the Christian; that on the south, Zion gate—the sacred gate of the Moslem; and the fifth, also on the south, the Water gate.

These gateways are massive in structure and not entirely destitute of architectural beauty, although in the latter respect they are



all utterly eclipsed by the gateway, now walled up, on the east side of the Temple area, called the Golden Gate.

Jerusalem must always prove a disappointment to him who goes expecting to find it rich in remains of the past. It is rich in memories and association, surpassingly so, and in those relics of the past, which consist in the unchanged features of nature, the vicinity is wonderfully endowed, but there are but few holy things or localities discernible within the city. Myriads are shown to the traveler, but these are, in almost all cases, the offspring of monkish legends.

A few remains at the Damascus gate, the lower part of the Tower of Hippicus at the Yafa gate, a portion of the wall of the pool of Hezekiah, the Amygdalon of Josephus, Robinson's arch near the south-west corner of the Temple inclosure, the Jews' wailing place a little north, and in other parts of the Temple wall some of the same large stones that render these conspicuous, are about all remaining above ground which can be identified as dating much back of the Crusaders. Under ground, Dr. Barclay, Wilson, and others have explored many vaults, reservoirs, and other substructions which undoubtedly date to very ancient periods, and Lieutenant Warren, under the auspices of the Palestine Exploration Fund, is pursuing researches which have already thrown much light on several disputed points, and promise much more if but the needful funds are placed at his disposal.

Among other results of his labors, the happy conjecture of Dr. Robinson in regard to the projecting stones near the south-west corner of the Temple wall, has been abundantly confirmed. Lieutenant Warren estimated the span of the arch from the stones still in place, sank a shaft in the bed of the Tyropæon over fifty feet deep, and had the pleasure of finding the foundation stones of the west side of the arch still *in situ*.

He has also, by excavation, demonstrated the position of a portion of the wall of Ophel, running south from the south-east corner of the Temple area, and once inclosing that continuation of Moriah down to Siloam, which is now entirely outside of the city walls. The identification of this wall has an important bearing on the much-disputed question of the exact location and dimensions of the ancient Temple area.

An examination of his reports indicates that the ground, not only

beneath the present city, but under the vicinity formerly included in the ancient walls, is a complete labyrinth of aqueducts, passages, archways, etc., of finished workmanship, and exhibiting a great amount of engineering skill. The wish is almost instinctive, that modern Jerusalem could be carted away, for the revelation of the interesting remains lying beneath.

The modern city has been so built upon piles of rubbish that the making of excavations at many important points is almost impossible from the fears of the inhabitants that their houses may be brought tumbling upon their heads. But for this, the question of the ancient water supply, the relative position of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, and the second wall of Josephus, and others, could probably be settled speedily and surely.

The short period of the existence of the Palestine Exploration Fund has been marked by a considerable increase of our knowledge. With all that has been done, however, the topography of ancient Jerusalem is still but poorly ascertained, though every theorizer seems to have equal confidence in his own infallible recipe to reconcile contradictions which, probably, never will be reconciled, and the confidence of each is exceeded only by the absence of generally satisfying conclusions from all.

It is matter of just pride to those of us who know and love him, and especially to those who contributed to the maintenance of his missionary family in Jerusalem, that the work of our own Dr. Barclay, "The City of the Great King," is considered as almost invaluable by those conducting the present excavations. It is styled emphatically "*the* guide book" to Jerusalem, archæologically speaking, and in the many discoveries of the Doctor, furnishes numerous starting points for new explorations.

Notwithstanding the apparent paucity of the *intended* results, we may properly feel that the Jerusalem mission was not a barren enterprise, and other parts of this article will indicate some strong excuses for whatever of failure appeared in its spiritual aspects.

There is one point in which the Jerusalem of to-day is a parallel to the Jerusalem of the past. That is, in the narrowness of the streets, and the compact building of some portions of the city. There has always been a difficulty in properly bestowing the vast numbers given by Josephus within even the extended limits of the old city,

and this difficulty becomes insuperable, unless we give his statements all the advantage which can flow from the consideration of narrow streets, hill-sides where the roofs of one row of houses served as the street of those above, and compactness and height in building.

The Jerusalem of to-day, in an area about one-third as large, has only about one-thirtieth of the population ascribed to the ancient Jerusalem. It is to be considered, however, that even within this circumscribed area there are large spaces of unoccupied ground, and that the Temple inclosure, then swarming with people, is now an almost deserted waste. During the time of the feasts every foot of room was occupied, and tents erected on top of the houses.

The present population probably numbers about twenty thousand, Mohammedan, Jew, and Christian, and a *few* who are neither. Not less than half of these are Jews of the two great divisions, the Sephardim and Askenazim. Between these two classes there exists a very decided antipathy, though they are equally the subjects of antipathy, insolence, and ill-treatment from most of the remaining inhabitants of Jerusalem. Though largest in numbers, they are weakest in influence, and most powerless for self-protection of all the population.

I suppose there is scarcely a country on the face of the earth where they are not held in more esteem, and treated with more of respect, than in Jerusalem. Perhaps this is one of the most significant parts of their punishment by the Almighty, that just where their affections center, just where, nationally, they may most truly use the word "home," just where God, in the days of faithfulness, most highly blessed them, there their affections are outraged, a *true* home is denied, and the curse most visibly manifests itself.

For the Jews of Jerusalem are most wretchedly poor. They groan under a poverty that proclaims itself in dress, in houses, in face, in form. They live daily a life of semi-starvation. A few cents a day each is munificent provision for the mass of them. The unhealthy complexion, the diseased eyes, the shambling gait, mark them out a distinct class of population wherever you meet them, even without the gaberdine and ringlets, which are additionally characteristic. They live herded together in a squalor and filth that are absolutely sickening.

That nothing may be wanting to their misery, their Rabbis rule them with a relentless and unprincipled tyranny, which reduces their

condition to virtual slavery. The Jews of Jerusalem are professional paupers. They live, and expect to live, on the contributions of wealthy and pious Jews in other parts of the world. A residence at Jerusalem is exceedingly meritorious, a death at Jerusalem greatly to be coveted, and an interment in the sacred soil surrounding it better than rubies.

The Jew who dies far from Jerusalem has the unpleasant anticipation that his soul must worm its way under ground through all the soil (and I suppose rocks) that lie between his grave and the Holy City, for only there can its peace be secured, or its destiny ascertained. All this can be avoided by taking himself to Jerusalem before death; hence the Jews who find their way hither. There is also some hook or crook in their theology by which a vicarious residence is made spiritually profitable to him who maintains the proxy. And there are a number of these. But the mass agree in two points, dislike to labor and wretched poverty. Of course, there are some exceptions to this sweeping rule. There are a few who are self-supporting, and live comfortably, but they are emphatically *exceptions*.

But this poverty of body is supplemented and made more horrible by poverty of spirit. A hideous system of immorality prevails in their midst, which, under the sacred name of matrimony, reeks with corruption. An even greater facility of divorce prevails than among their fathers. It is a common thing to see girls not yet sixteen who have been married three or four times, and all their husbands still living. Nothing is easier than to obtain a wife for any period the caprice of the husband may indicate. The present rector of the English Church at Jerusalem stated to me that a large portion of the support of the Rabbis who have right to marry accrues from these frequent marriages and divorces.

They have several synagogues, whose filthy surroundings agree well with their utter want of architectural beauty. The synagogue worship, after the washing of the hands at a bucket of water, with a towel hanging above it, an essential part of the furniture, seems to consist in a rapid reading of portions of the Scripture, invariably accompanied with a swaying of the body backward and forward, which is said to be in fulfillment of a passage of Holy Writ, "All my bones shall praise thee."

The remaining half of the population may be nearly equally

divided into Mohammedans and nominal Christians. Of these last the Greek Church may claim about half, while the remainder are divided as Latins, Armenians, Copts, Abyssinians, and Protestants, with a handful of names not worth remembering.

The religion of the mass of these, omitting, of course, the Protestants, consists of the most degrading superstition and unauthorized practices, characterized by stupendous impositions on the part of the clergy, and servile acceptance thereof as true on the part of the people. There is between them, too, a condition of continual religious warfare, sometimes with the use of secular means, which is surely edifying in the *city of peace*, and professedly under the banners of the Prince of Peace. So high does this warfare rage that it is no uncommon thing for the Turkish guard at the door of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher to be under the necessity of interfering with good sound twacks to preserve the peace.

The most unsparing ridicule is leveled by each against the miracles, wonders, relics, and holy places of all the rest. Indeed, it is not an inconsiderable aid to correct knowledge of so-called Holy Places, to employ well-informed men of one sect to exhibit and criticize the curiosities of rival sects. You will have the advantage of hearing the negative of the proposition, and may average the counter statements.

Much as we would desire to see the Holy City under true Christian domination, it may well be doubted whether the time has fully come for the eclipse of the Crescent. The removal of the Mohammedan restraining influence would probably lead to a religious war in Jerusalem as terrible, in proportion to the numbers engaged, as the world has ever seen.

The physical condition of the Christians (Latin, Greek, etc.,) is much better than that of the Jews, and even the lower class of Mohammedans. As to their morals, I suppose that Italy will furnish a fair comparison.

Jerusalem is emphatically a religious city, if our standard of judgment is to be the number of religious buildings. On the faithful map now lying before me, I count twenty-two convents within the city limits, each of which has a church attached. In addition to these are the immense Church of the Sepulcher, the English Mission Church, a large number of eleemosynary institutions attached to

convents and churches, the Jewish synagogues, and Mohammedan mosques.

Of all these, the charitable institutions are really the most important; for, uncharitable as it may seem on so charitable a theme, I believe there is very much reason to say that the most powerful and successful converting agency in Jerusalem has been and is the judicious distribution of physical and medical aid, to be indefinitely continued in order to be permanently effective.

The amount of money spent in the midst of the twenty thousand of population, for religious purposes, is simply enormous, and yet it would not be too much to say that Jerusalem is almost as ignorant, to-day, of the simple Gospel of Jesus Christ, as though it had never been proclaimed in the world. It is painful to realize that "the beginning" at Jerusalem is all that we can yet assert of the Christianity of the New Testament in its relations to this Holy City. But we look to the future, and hope.

The Mohammedans of Jerusalem are a piebald assortment of representatives from all the various parts of the Turkish Empire, drawn here by the same religious charm that gathers so many from the four corners of the earth. Jerusalem is one of the superlatively sacred cities of Islam. Neither Jew nor Christian can exceed the fanatic fervor with which the pious Mussulman regards the *Haram esh Sherif*, or Temple Area, or the religious gusto with which his prayers are said in the holy places of El Khuds. The very names he gives it tell his reverence—Beit-el-Makhuddis, "the holy house," etc.

Indeed, so sacred is it that there is one spot in the Mosque of Omar where even the prayer of a Christian dog must bring a favorable answer from Allah; and in the valley of the Kedron, and the west face of Olivet, he locates the assembly of the world for its final judgment by Mohammed, whose seat on that august occasion is shown projecting from the east wall of the Haram. Just *here*, too, is located his spider-web bridge to Paradise, perhaps but an extravagant intensification of the "narrow way" of Christ.

The latter sentence starts a train of thought which I have not space to pursue here, but which I suppose has occurred to every thoughtful observer of Mohammedanism, the evident draughts upon the Christian and Jewish Scriptures by Mohammed in the formation of his system. There are many beautiful things in the Koran, but

it is susceptible of demonstration that all that are vitally and spiritually so are thefts from the Word of God, and these are overlaid and incrustated by an immense mass of stuff having its origin in the insanities of fancy or the demands of passion.

It would not, perhaps, be too much to say that there is scarcely an elaborate (so-called) Christian creed of the present day that does not exhibit a parallelism in this enforced mingling of the human and divine, not in degree but in kind. Nor is there absent from these a common danger that the human may come to be considered of equal authority with the divine.

From the brief review given we have before us this division of population; one half Jews, a fourth Mohammedans, a fourth nominal Christians, perhaps a sixtieth Protestants. It is sad to say it, but truth requires that it shall be said, that with all the enormous outlay of the London Society, the pretentious bishopric that is maintained at great expense, and the occasional parade of figures, the Protestant influence in Jerusalem is a plant of but very sickly growth, and as near *nil* in its bearings upon society as so lavish distribution of *material aid* can allow it to be.

An enthusiastic missionary to Jerusalem has but little idea of the difficulties before him until he actually enters upon the field, and has passed through a course of brain-puzzling and heart-saddening experiences. The population of Jerusalem, in common with that of all Syria, is fearfully depraved. There seems to be, in the great mass, an almost total want of the moral sense, an inability to distinguish between truth and falsehood. Every traveler has found this one of the most prolific sources of trouble and vexation in his sojourn.

It is almost impossible to know when the truth is being spoken by a native upon the most trivial or the most important matters, for falsehood is equally prevalent upon either. Indeed, the Mohammedan makes it a matter of public and unblushing boast that he is more subtle (meaning by that a better liar) than we, and does not hesitate to ridicule Englishmen and Americans for their stupidity in being bound by their word.

The air of Jerusalem reeks with falsehood. It reaches everywhere, from the highest to the lowest, presents itself to Protestant eyes in the most unaccustomed and unexpected phases. It is a component part of the administration of *justice*, has fastened like "a



leprosy in the walls" upon streets, walls, houses, and ruins, enters into every business transaction, forms itself on the lisping lips of childhood, vitiates the profession of religion, and manifests itself in outward prostrations before an unworshiped God.

Yet this was once the center of an earnest worship of the true God, the one beacon light shedding its rays over an ocean of idolatry. Here God dwelt, and spoke, and wrought, and from this as a center have radiated the influences that have given to the civilization of to-day all that is pure, noble, holy, exalted. There is no line of holy, spiritual, or moral influence existing in the world of to-day which, traced back, does not converge with all its fellows in this focal city.

Alas! how terrible are the contrasts of history! Jerusalem is like some blackened, extinct star, which, after having sped its rays of light and beauty out into the universe for ages, goes out in darkness. But its last rays go speeding on, and observers in distant orbs enjoy the light, and say "How beautiful the star!" while itself swings darkling in the abyss of space. Yet may we not hope that, ever speeding onward, the light that went from her may yet again light up the city "beautiful for situation," and she may become holy in fact as in name?

The contrast between the present and past of Jerusalem is not to be found only in her spiritual and moral aspects. It exhibits itself no less commercially, architecturally, mechanically, internationally.

There was a time when the ports of Joppa and Cæsarea, of Tyre and Sidon, were all made tributary to the supply of the wants of the six hundred thousand people, luxuriously living, who made Jerusalem their home. Commerce, in the widest extent of its wanderings to Tarshish and the isles of the sea, was drawn upon to contribute to the pleasures of the chief men of Jerusalem. From beyond Damascus to the north, from India to the east, and Egypt and Ethiopia to the south, flowed into Jerusalem a steady stream of commerce which, under the Roman domination, took in also the further shores of the Mediterranean, and a portion of the interior of Europe.

All commerce necessitates exchange, and there must, of course, have been a great degree of mechanical and agricultural activity in Jerusalem and its dependencies to meet the counter demands of this inflowing stream. The "land flowing with milk and honey" poured the treasures of its production into Jerusalem as its commercial

center, which it continued to be even after the national disruption, and notably so when successive conquests and dispersions had destroyed the distinctions originating in the bold stroke of Jeroboam.

The Jews were not always so averse to mechanical and agricultural labor as they have now proverbially become. Rabbi Judah said, "He that teacheth not his son a trade, does the same as if he taught him to be a thief." The custom was common to give a boy a trade, even if no present necessity existed for its exercise. We may, therefore, regard the population of Jerusalem in ancient times as a busy, thriving collection of artisans and merchants, having large connections with all the accessible parts of the world known to them.

How greatly has the scene changed! The voice of the merchant is silent in her streets, the mechanics are of the rudest, and their skill, such as it is, is drawn upon only for the supply of the simple wants of a half-starved population of twenty thousand. A western community can scarcely realize how simple are the wants of an eastern populace. The bazars of Jerusalem, if not utterly contemptible, yet have nothing that is noticeable. A few expensive goods are found on their shelves for the supply of the Turkish magnates who fatten on even the poor life of this people, but the bulk of articles sold are of the commonest description, and these are not purchased to any considerable extent by an exchange of values produced here, but by money sent to the inhabitants as donations from other parts of the world.

The only branch of mechanics in which there is any noticeable activity is the manufacture of small articles as souvenirs of Jerusalem, from olive, balsam, and other woods, mother of pearl, the bituminous stone of the Dead Sea, etc. The manufacture of these is quite considerable in amount, as every pilgrim desires to carry away some memento of his visit.

Jerusalem is no longer a commercial or manufacturing center to Palestine even for the supply of the limited wants of its present population. Bethlehem and Hebron on the south, and Nabulas and Nazareth on the north, in every thing but the religious aspect, are as truly centers as Jerusalem. In more ways than one, "not one stone has been left on another" of the pride and state of Jerusalem.

The melancholy contrast between the past and present exhibits itself, perhaps, as strikingly in the architectural aspect of Jerusalem

as any other. There was a period when a score of sumptuous palaces, between four and five hundred synagogues, and the luxurious residences of principal citizens and foreigners, furnished a splendid setting from which the magnificent buildings of the Temple area gleamed like a diamond set in virgin gold.

All the vicinity was gorgeous with country-seats of the living, and beautiful sepulchral monuments of the dead. Fountains were playing amid the rich gardens attached to palaces, nature and art vying in the adornment of the city and its fair surroundings. Two splendid bridges spanned the Tyropæon, and another sent its mighty arches down to the very bed of the Kedron. Around the city a mighty wall wound its encompassing folds, with a hundred and ninety massive towers, many of them remarkable for size, and others richly ornamented, while through its grand gateways a stream of representatives from all parts of the known world was constantly passing.

Well might the heart of the pious and patriotic Jew swell within him as he gazed upon its varied splendor. Well might he style it "the perfection of beauty, the joy of the whole earth," this city which had grown from the warlike stronghold of a shepherd chief to proportions and importance so great.

And well may his descendant now exclaim, in the sadness and bitterness of his heart, "How doth the city sit solitary that was full of people! How is she become as a widow! She that was great among the nations, and princess among the provinces, how is she become tributary!" For her house is, indeed, left unto her desolate.

After the destruction of Titus some seventy years, there was a temporary revival of the splendor of the city under heathen auspices, by order of the Emperor Adrian, and, though the holy places were marked by pagan temples, yet, architecturally, the city was probably equal to its former self.

When Constantine espoused Christianity the pagan temples were destroyed or reconsecrated, and Christian buildings still further added to the beauty of the city. Early in the seventh century, however, its architectural ornaments were destroyed by the Persians, though many were rebuilt under Heraclius. Soon after Omar captured the city, but forbore to disturb its public buildings. Fifty years after, the Mosque of Omar was built by the Khalif Abd-el-Melek.

Since that period the work of decay has gone on, with a temporary revival of activity and beautification during the occupancy of Jerusalem by the Crusaders, destined with its fruits to be of but short duration. The wild Kharismian hordes seized and desolated the city about the middle of the thirteenth century, and its beauty has never been restored.

Outside of the Temple inclosure there are but two buildings within the walls which can lay the least claim to architectural elegance. These are the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and the English Church and its adjuncts. Some of the convents and consulates are neatly and solidly built, and a few graceful minarets tower up in various parts of the city. With these exceptions, the city is a mass of solid, ungainly stone buildings, some surmounted by shallow domes, which somewhat break the monotony of the lines, but more with flat roofs, surrounded by a low parapet, pierced in some places to afford a convenient lookout for the women.

The streets, except in the bazars, present a gray expanse of wall, pierced by doorways, sometimes so low that we must stoop to enter, and guarded by strong doors able to stand a siege. In addition to these a few small windows, strongly barred with iron, and in some instances covered with lattice, are seen. The streets formed by such houses as these are necessarily gloomy and lonely in appearance.

All the movements of family life are carried on behind these frowning walls, every large house having an interior court-yard around which the house is built, and from which the inmates derive most of their light and air. Most of the stairways, from floor to floor, are in the open air within this court-yard, which is often ornamented with flowers. The inferior houses, like those of the villages through Palestine, are little more than cubical masses of stone, the plainness of whose architecture is exceeded only by the squalor and filth within.

*Within* the Temple inclosure the Mosque of Omar has long been a theme of writers who have praised its beauty in the most extravagant terms. It is difficult to imagine whence this great admiration has sprung. The dome is graceful in outline, and the tiles covering the sides of the building are brilliant in color. So also with the coloring of a portion of the interior, though it is generally too dark to obtain the full effect.

But very much of the ornamentation of the interior is puerile, and the interior walls are made up of the fragments of older buildings patched together, with here a molding and there a fragment of *bas-relief*, in a manner that is positively ridiculous. Pillars of different workmanship and different orders are huddled together, and even much of the brilliant tiling upon the exterior has fallen off, giving it a piebald, half-ruinous look that is extremely suggestive as a symbol.

"Ichabod" is written on the walls, not only here, but upon all that is Mohammedan in Jerusalem, and, indeed, throughout the Turkish Empire. Repairing is almost an unknown art here. When the upper story of a Mohammedan's house becomes utterly dilapidated, he removes below, and when this in turn goes, he takes the ground-floor, and when this is no longer tenantable, seeks another. The only part of Jerusalem that looks bright, and fresh, and clean, even comparatively speaking, is that in Christian occupancy.

In one respect Jerusalem, for a city so situated, is well provided, that is, in the supply of water. It is but rarely the people suffer from want of water. In ancient times this was still more notable. During sieges mothers have been found to devour children as food, but none are reported as suffering for water, except in one instance.

Every house of any importance in Jerusalem has its own cisterns. In addition to these there are wells and pools still remaining within and near the city, and still more are known to have existed in former times. Vast quantities of water must have been required by a population of a half million, and when we add to this the immense amount constantly used in the Temple service, the necessary supply becomes colossal.

To him who looks upon the mission of Moses as purely human in its origin and character, there must always remain a question as to the motives moving him, in a wilderness, where the supply of water for the ordinary wants of the people was but scanty, to devise a system of worship to which, in its full establishment, immense quantities of water were absolutely necessary. The fact, however, remains, and the additional fact that the final resting place of that worship was abundantly supplied.

The last fact is, at least, an interesting illustration of the manner in which religious causes many times produce important social and

sanitary results. It is worth more than a passing thought that this mountain stronghold, situate among bleak limestone hills, within whose limits, upon a single passover occasion, two hundred and fifty-six thousand five hundred paschal lambs were consumed, the worshipers probably being as ten to one, was never wanting in the immense supply of water requisite for the wants of so great a multitude. Major Warren estimates the capacity of the reservoirs known to exist under the Temple area at seven millions of gallons. There is much of interesting and suggestive matter upon this theme to be gleaned from ancient writers, both eastern and western, but the purpose of the present article will not allow the space.

It may not be amiss, however, to say in passing, that the assertion, sometimes made by a certain class of controversial writers and speakers, of the difficulty of procuring water in or near Jerusalem for the *immersion* of the three thousand on Pentecost day, is, of all their groundless sayings, the most indefensible. I doubt whether there is a city of modern times, not situated directly on a river or lake, where the performance in question would have been more feasible than at Jerusalem.

The present supply of water is mainly from the large annual rainfall upon the city. This has reached, in one year of observation, eighty-five inches, and in five years, an average of nearly seventy inches. But as this heavy fall is *mainly* within four months, and *entirely* within six, the necessity for cisterns is at once apparent. During six months, say from April to October, there is a rainless, though not a cloudless sky.

The climate is very uniform, the range of the thermometer not being much over 50° Fahrenheit, with an average of less than 70°, and seldom, as extremes, rising above 90°, or sinking below 40°. The south wind, as in Scripture times, brings heat, the Sirocco from that quarter being sometimes intensely hot and remarkably debilitating. The west wind brings rain, though not invariably. Snow sometimes falls, but not to remain long, and there have been exceptional instances of the formation of pellicles of ice an eighth of an inch thick. The rain is frequently accompanied by fine hail, sometimes as large as peas.

On the average the climate of Jerusalem may be set down as delightful, and but for the habits of its inhabitants, it would form a

pleasant residence throughout the year. But these are so utterly independent of and contrary to all sanitary rules as to render it exceedingly unhealthy for Europeans during the summer months.

The markets are supplied with a profuse variety of vegetables and fruits in their season, although doubtless inferior to the olden times, when the besom of desolation had not so often swept the country; the period when rivers ran where now are scanty brooks, and stream-lets where now is only the winter torrent; when forests were on the now bare mountain-sides, and luxuriant vines and groves clothed the hill-sides that now exhibit but the rock-hewn supports of the old terraces; when a population of six hundred thousand was as easily fed by the surrounding country as the twenty thousand who now dwell within its walled limits.

But we near the limits of our space, and while regretfully remembering how much remains unsaid that might have been well said even in the cursory view to which we limited ourselves, must console ourselves with the hope that what we have written may be provocative of continued study.

Jerusalem as it was, as it is, and as it is to be, may well form subject of research to the most painstaking antiquarian, and thought to the strongest intellect. Its memories have no rivals in sublime interest. With a history probably dating back to the first group of men who stood upon the earth after the subsidence of the flood, it has been so twined and intertwined with the world's narrative from that time to the present, that to omit it is to take the heart out. No history of Assyrians or Medes and Persians, no chronicle of Egypt, no narrative of Macedonian or Roman conquest is complete without its name.

No history of Europe can be properly written that devotes not many pages to it and its interests; her noblest kings have stood barcheaded at its shrines, and her nobility owe to it the quarterings of their escutcheons. If the sea that washes the shores of its port may be called the Mediterranean, in another sense, and with more of force, may this be called the Mediterranean City. It is not without a sort of poetic truth that the Greek priest marks a spot in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher which he calls the center of the earth.

And if its name is thus intertwined with the mere narratives of the *events* of national life, still more closely does it mingle with the



study of the springs of action for at least eighteen hundred years. From it have radiated the influences that have given the national life of Europe and America all that it has of good.

Of all that distinguishes, favorably, the civilization of Europe and America from that of the Orient, or from their own preceding states, of all that marks man better and woman higher than in the past, of all restoration of stolen rights, of all broadening of human sympathies, of all enriching of home tenderness, of all quickening of conscience and deepening of consciousness, of all approximations to the ideal brotherhood, may be said as truly as of the blessed Gospel of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, "beginning at Jerusalem."

## LITERARY NOTICES.

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*HOME LITERATURE.*

## BOOKS.

- 1.—*Pre-Historic Nations*; or, Inquiries concerning some of the Great Peoples and Civilizations of Antiquity, and their Probable Relation to a still Older Civilization of the Ethiopians or Cushites of Arabia. By JOHN D. BALDWIN, A. M. New York: Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 414. 1869. For sale by R. W. Carroll & Co.

THE present is emphatically an iconoclastic age. Our reverence for idols is by no means encouraging to those who would perpetuate that kind of worship. And it must be apparent to all thinking men that the time has come when the oracles of tradition can no longer usurp the unmistakable utterances of science. This is as it should be. The world has been governed long enough by dogmatism, and it is now high time that men should be allowed to think.

We should, however, be very careful lest we use this liberty "for an offense." Freedom of thought is not a synonym for licentious thought. Madame Roland, when brought to the guillotine during the French Revolution, said: "Liberty! O Liberty! how many crimes have been committed in thy name!" This is true to human experience, and should teach us the importance of that maxim which says, "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

We do not sympathize with the fears of many good men concerning the present controversy between Science and Religion. We want nothing but the truth, and this we must have, if all our cherished systems go to ruin. We only ask that every investigation shall be made in a truth-loving spirit. Our only fear is that the name of liberty will be used by unscrupulous men in the interest of falsehood and slavery. This, however, has been the case during all the great evolutions of society; hence we can not afford to stand still because of this danger. We must go forward. Every interest of humanity demands this; but we must do it cautiously, so that we will not use our liberty "as abusing it."

Perhaps there is no other subject exciting more interest just now than ethnology; and the work of Mr. Baldwin will not be likely to lessen that interest. Few men have written upon the subject with more enthusiasm than

he ; and while his work is professedly written for the masses, it will certainly command the attention of the best scholars of the age. The author brings to his work a very extensive information, an intimate acquaintance with all the materials which are now accessible for such an investigation ; and if his book does not shake the popular faith in the orthodox chronology, we think it may safely be said that that chronology will stand the test of the present controversy with reference to it.

Mr. Baldwin's theory is, that, of the three great families—the Semitic, Cushite, and Aryan—the Cushite appeared first in the work of civilization ; that they were the "original civilizers of south-western Asia ; and that, in the deepest antiquity, their influence was established in nearly all the coast regions, from the extreme east to the extreme west, of the old world." He declares that

"This has been repeatedly pointed out with more or less clearness, and it is one of those incontestable facts that must be accepted. In nearly all the recorded investigations of scholars for the last two centuries, it has appeared among those half-seen facts which dogmatic criticism could treat as fancies without troubling itself to explain them. It could not be otherwise, for, to see and fully comprehend the significance of Cushite antiquity, we must have greater freedom in the matter of chronology, and a more accurate perception of the historic importance of Arabia, than have usually appeared in such investigations. Neither Usher's chronology nor the little country known to the Greeks and Romans as Phœnicia, will suffice to explain that mighty and wide-spread influence of the Cushite race in human affairs, whose traces are still visible from Farther India to Norway." Pp. 18, 19.

It will be seen that this view is in direct antagonism with the orthodox opinion upon the subject. And those who have accepted Usher's system of chronology, and have been accustomed to regard the Hellenic as the oldest civilization, will most likely see in this position of Mr. Baldwin nothing but infidelity. This, however, is no very positive evidence that it is infidelity. Every student of history knows well enough that every innovation upon established religious views has shared the same fate. The history of the Copernican system of astronomy, and the science of geology, furnish abundant illustration. Any thing that proposes to overturn the religious creeds of men will always be greeted with this charge of infidelity. Only a few years ago a reformation was started in this country which proposed to abandon all human creeds in religion, and take the Bible and the Bible alone as a rule of faith and practice. We well remember that this was every-where declared to be infidel, while all the Herods and Pilates made friends in their zeal to put it down. But truth is not put down by such opposition, and this movement is to-day stronger than it ever was before. In fact, it has furnished the leaven which is at present working so effectually in reforming the religious systems of the age. Mr. Baldwin's theory may not be correct, but the cry of infidelity is no longer very alarming to earnest scientific men.

Mr. Baldwin is certainly a bold innovator. To say that the "original Ethiopia was not in Africa, and that the ancient home of the Cushites or

Ethiopians, the starting point of their colonizing and civilizing movements, was in Arabia," is asking us, sure enough, to rearrange our historical data. But it must be confessed that there are many facts which support this view of the matter.

Our author declares that our studies of "ancient history have been embarrassed by two strong but not very wise influences—a false chronology and a false estimate of the Hellenic people in their relation to civilization." It has long been felt that the popular chronology is not equal to the explanation of many facts in history. According to Rollin's chronology, the Assyrian Empire began its career 2,234 B. C., or about one hundred and fifteen years after the Deluge. Now, the Bible informs us that "Noah lived after the Flood three hundred and fifty years," that is, two hundred and thirty-five years after the establishment of the Assyrian Empire. Hence he must have witnessed the progress and grandeur of that empire more than two centuries. No wonder Rollin says:

"I must own that I am somewhat puzzled by a difficulty that may be raised against the extraordinary things related of Ninus and Semiramis, as they do not seem to agree with times so near the Deluge; I mean such immense armies, such a numerous cavalry, and such vast treasures of gold and silver, all of which seem to be of later date."

But it is now considered almost certain that there were great monarchies in Asia much older than the year 2,234 B. C. It is contended, with considerable degree of reason, that Egypt existed as a civilized country 5,000 years before the Christian era, and that Menes, who first united all Egypt under one government, began his reign not less than 3,893 years previous to the birth of Christ. With even more certainty, it is declared, that Fuh-hi, the first Emperor of China, lived 4,700 years ago, which period, according to Archbishop Usher, was 508 years before the Deluge. Among the successors of Fuh-hi was Whang-ti. In the sixty-first year of that monarch's reign one of the astronomers of China established the sixty-year cycle, which has been continued to the present time. The seventy-sixth period ended in 1863. Consequently Whang-ti began to reign 2,758 B. C., which, according to Usher, was 410 years before the Flood.

Should any one ask, in reply to all this, what becomes of our *Biblical chronology*? Mr. Baldwin would say:

"The business of constructing systems of 'Biblical' chronology has furnished employment for a large amount of learned ingenuity which otherwise might have been led to write great folios on the word 'Selah' in the Psalms, or to expound the natural history of ancient giants, or to interpret, in a very marvelous way, the prophetic mystery of the Apocalypse. It has been chiefly the work of monks and rabbins, and its relation to historical science is very much like that of conjuring astrology to the science of astronomy. But it is not wholly useless. It has undoubtedly furnished many satisfactions to those whose calling did not afford a more profitable occupation for intellectual activity, or whose learning had not introduced them to a more enlightened study of antiquity. The authority of what is falsely called 'Biblical' chronology is no longer very potent. It can not maintain itself against that

progress of science which constantly increases our knowledge of the past. It must soon disappear, and take its place in the rubbish of the ages, with other legendary absurdities which, in their time, dishonored religion, oppressed the human intellect, and misled honest people by claiming immortal reverence.

"Any system of chronology that places the creation of man only about four thousand or five thousand years previous to the birth of Christ, is a mere invention, a scholastic fancy, an elaborate absurdity. There is nothing to warrant it, and not much to excuse it. Those who profess to find it in the Bible misuse and falsify that book. We may as well seek in the Bible for a perfected science of astronomy or chemistry. It is not there; and no such chronological scheme ever grew out of scientific inquiry. Moreover, there is a remarkable want of harmony among those who have constructed such schemes. The various systems of 'Biblical' chronology claiming attention are at variance among themselves. According to the Jewish rabbins, man was created 3,761 years before Christ; the Greek and Armenian Churches have been taught to say 5,509 years; Eusebius said 5,200; Panodorus, a learned Egyptian monk, having solved the problem with great care and exactness of demonstration, said 5,493; we and the nations of Western Europe have followed Usher, a romancing Archbishop of Armagh, who maintained, with great particularity of dogmatic demonstration, that the human race began to exist on earth precisely 4,004 years before Christ; others have argued, with ingenuity quite as marvelous, to establish the validity of figures different from any of these." Pp. 26, 27.

Mr. Baldwin next attempts to correct what he considers a "false estimate of the Hellenic people in their relation to civilization." Heretofore we have been accustomed to believe that "enlightened civilization, science, and art all began with the people of Hellas, and had their first great development at Athens." He declares that "what belongs to several families of this brilliant group of the great Aryan people has been given to one, and that the latest in development; and what they all received from the Phœnician or Cushite culture, which immediately preceded them in the same regions, has not been well considered."

The remainder of the book brings forward the evidences by which these positions are supported, evidences which, if not always conclusive, have certainly much to commend them to the serious consideration of all earnest men.

It can no longer be doubted that the questions which this volume raises are exceedingly important ones, and can not be set aside by the *ipse dixit* of theological dogmatism. We regret that in discussing them, Mr. Baldwin has frequently shown a dogmatic spirit almost equal to that which he condemns in those who would, *ex cathedra*, uphold the orthodox chronology. These questions can not be settled by ill-tempered or ill-mannered investigation. In dealing with the prejudices of men it is not best to excite those prejudices against us, when it is at all possible to avoid it.

We are not prepared to receive all of Mr. Baldwin's conclusions as entirely satisfactory. In fact, we think many things which he magnifies into difficulties might be made easily to harmonize with the received chronology. Still, as recent discoveries have made a reinvestigation of this whole subject necessary, we only ask that the investigation shall proceed as becomes so

grave and important a matter. With such scholars in this field of inquiry as Max Müller, Rawlinson, Professor Whitney, and Mr. Baldwin, we have every reason to hope that the cause of truth will be the gainer in the end. As we become better acquainted with the Zend-Avesta, the Rig-Veda, the works of Confucius, etc., we have reason to believe that much light will be thrown upon pre-historic nations. The knowledge of *Sanscrit*, and the opening up to commercial intercourse the hitherto walled nation of China, will doubtless lead to many important historical results. Should we be compelled to modify our chronology, it would then be much easier to harmonize the Mosaic record and geology. And if there is nothing incompatible with Bible truth in the change proposed, we do not see where there is any thing to fear should archæological and linguistic discoveries make it necessary.

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2.—*Our New Way round the World.* By CHARLES CARLETON COFFIN. Illustrated. Boston: Fields, Osgood & Co. 8vo. Pp. xviii-524. 1869. For sale by R. W. Carroll & Co.

It is seldom that we have read a book of travels with more profound interest than this one. There is nothing in it that is particularly original, but the style is fresh and vigorous, and the author has the happy faculty of saying just the thing that will most likely interest the reader.

Mr. Coffin is a good traveler, though he always sees things through American eyes, and hence can not be trusted too far when discussing the character of civilizations entirely different from ours. He deals some heavy blows at the British on account of their treatment of their subjects in India. He thinks it is not wonderful that Brahmanism and Buddhism do not immediately give way to Christianity, while the latter is represented by despotic Englishmen, who treat the natives as if they were all slaves, and who "curse and swear, get beastly drunk, and do many things repugnant to Hindoo notions of morality and religion."

Notwithstanding the many discouraging things with which the missionaries have had to contend, the number of native Christians connected with Protestant Churches in India and Burmah is placed at about two hundred thousand—the result of missionary effort. This estimate does not include the great number of children acquiring an education in missionary schools, which are acknowledged to be far superior to those established by the government. This is a clever showing considering the difficulties in the way. But the greatest obstacle, after all, in the way of their Christianization, is the strong hold their religious opinions and practices have upon them. Mr. Coffin truly says:

"Theirs is a very ancient religion. For nearly a hundred generations the Hindoo has laved in the sacred waters of the Krishna and the Ganges, and offered his oblations to

images which to him are symbols of Deity. Their sacred books, their traditions, all their habits, their joys, their sorrows, whatever is dear to them in life, or hopeful to them in death, bind them down to idolatry.

"We should not be surprised at their aversion to a religion which sweeps away caste, overthrows idols, subverts the whole order of society, and reduces the sacred Shasters to a fable. Religious convictions, however erroneous, are not readily given up by any portion of the human race."

The degraded condition of woman stands greatly in the way of the conversion of the people to Christianity. The women of India are bound hand and foot by caste. They become wives between five and thirteen, and generally remain in ignorance the rest of their lives. Men can not educate them, for they are not allowed to show their faces to any man except their husbands; hence women missionaries are beginning to educate the women of India as the most certain means of withdrawing two hundred millions of people from gross idolatry.

When he comes to speak of China he is careful to tell us how the English have also hindered the conversion of that people to Christianity. The opium trade is as iniquitous as the African slave-trade, yet it is carried on in the interests of negro-loving England. We are inclined to think that Mr. Coffin does not do England justice when animadverting upon her mannerisms in the East. However this may be, one thing is certain, England has done more toward bringing the Orientals into contact with modern civilization than any other nation; and while her policy has been selfish enough, it is not likely that any other government would have done much better.

After giving us a general view of religion in China, and especially that feature of it which makes the living responsible for the comfort and happiness of the dead, he concludes with the following remarks, which are well worthy of serious consideration at a time when these Celestials are likely to become our most intimate neighbors:

"With this insight into the religion of China, we can better comprehend the reason for the deadness of the empire. The people think constantly of the dead; every motive of action has reference to the reward or punishment they will receive from their ancestors. How can a nation advance while dragging a hundred generations? Their thoughts and aspirations are circumscribed by their slavish fear of the dead. An innovator—a man who does what the fathers did not do—perils the happiness of both the living and the dead. Foreigners are innovators, therefore, to be resisted. Hence all advancement thus far has been made by superior force—by the cannon's argument. Every treaty that has been made with foreign powers has been wrung from a government reluctant to disturb the old order of things. We see why missionaries have such up-hill work, and wonder at what they have accomplished; we see why the Chinese are determined not to have railroads. The empire is a graveyard. Railroads are remorseless; they cut through the cities of the living and of the dead alike. A railroad running ten miles in China would disturb the whole spirit realm. Unlucky strokes from spades might sever skulls from vertebræ in some ancestral burial-ground, and then there would be headless ghosts wandering through the land of darkness, and sickness, pestilence, calamity, and untold horrors would settle upon China. Firmness only on the part of the Western nations in the revision of the treaties will forward Christian civilization in this benighted land. China will advance only by pressure from without. The inertia of the mass is too great to move of itself along the path of modern civilization.



When that screeching innovator, the locomotive, begins to move across the plains of this Flowery Land, plowing up old bones, breaking the chains which bind the living to the dead, there will be hope for China. It will yet do for China what it is doing for India. It is a powerful missionary. Idols, caste, prejudices, sacred bulls, Brahmans, customs, religions, laws, governments, dynasties, pashas, mandarins, and kings are borne down by that great leveler. No other agent of civilization can be so potent in these eastern lands, not even the press."

3.—*The Queen of the Air*: being a Study of the Greek Myths of Cloud and Storm.

By JOHN RUSKIN, LL. D. New York: John Wiley & Son. 12mo. Pp. viii-178. 1869. For sale by R. W. Carroll & Co.

THERE is a class of writers who, on account of some happy hit, suddenly find themselves famous. Perhaps they themselves did not dream of the good fortune that awaited them. They had an idea—it was their own—and full of its inspiration, they wrote. The public was pleased, and attested its approbation by purchasing large editions of the new work. This is all very well; but authors have not always discriminated between writing *with* an idea and *without* one. Hence some writers, who have made considerable reputation out of real meritorious works, have frequently injured their reputation by continuing to write when they had nothing very valuable to say. Nothing perhaps marks the history of authorship more than this fact. A large number of popular writers have given us their best works first. In Europe, Charles Dickens is a striking example. "*Pickwick Papers*," "*David Copperfield*," and "*Martin Chuzzlewit*" were really original and meritorious works. But since those were published, Dickens has done little more than reproduce himself. The many volumes he has written have been largely engineered into popular favor on the reputation of his earlier works.

John Ruskin is not an exception to this very general rule. The splendid reputation which he made by the publication of "*Stones of Venice*," and "*Modern Painters*," has not been particularly benefited by any thing that he has recently written. Having secured the public attention by the brilliant promise of his youth, he seems to have had little sense of the need of self-restraint and that careful preparation of his works which are so essential to permanent success. Hence he seems to have given himself up, more or less, to exaggeration, to an undue affection for what is called "word-painting." But, notwithstanding this, it can not be denied that he has wonderful powers, and no matter how extravagant he may be, he always commands our admiration for his sincere, noble, and catholic interest in humanity.

The present volume consists of three connected essays, respectively called *Athena Chalinitis*, *Athena Keramitis*, *Athena Ergane*—*Athena* in the Heavens, in the Earth, and in the Heart. The book is an inquiry into the origin, nature, and functions of the Greek Goddess *Athena*, who is very

similar to the Egyptian Neith, and not very different from the Latin Minerva. She is,

"Physically, the Queen of the Air, having supreme power both over its breath of calm and wrath of storm; and spiritually, she is the Queen of the Breath of Man. First, of the bodily breathing which is life to his blood, and strength to his arm in battle; and then, of the mental breathing or inspiration, which is his moral health or habitual wisdom—wisdom of conduct and of the heart as opposed to the wisdom of imagination and the brain; moral, as distinct from intellectual; inspired, as distinct from illuminated."

This is the mythical character which Mr. Ruskin has selected, around which to discuss some of the great questions of the day; for after the first two chapters, her ladyship of Grecian mythological notoriety is entirely forgotten by him, while he treats of things entirely distinct from her age, her nation, and her fame. With iconoclastic fury he rushes into the sacred dominion of the gods of *modern society*, and ruthlessly hurls these from their thrones. Democracy is belabored with an evident "malice prepense," while the modern system of wages and labor receives a ventilation which the author evidently regards as healthy. And after having cried

"Havoc, and let slip the dogs of war!"

to his heart's content, he jumps astride his hobby of political economy, and gallops off in a style as brilliant in its rhetoric as it is false in its logic.

Altogether the work is inferior to Mr. Ruskin in his best moods. Still it is interesting, and will doubtless be eagerly read by the many admirers of its brilliant author.

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- 4.—*Lamps, Pitchers, and Trumpets.* Lectures on the Vocation of the Preacher. Illustrated by Anecdotes Biographical, Historical, and Elucidatory of every order of Pulpit Eloquence, from the great Preachers of all Ages. By EDWIN PAXTON HOOD, *Minister of Queen-Square Chapel, Brighton*. New York: M. W. Dodd. 12mo. Pp. 453. 1869. For sale by R. W. Carroll & Co.

It would be difficult to understand, from the title of this book, the character of its contents. Nothing but a willingness to pander to the sensational style of the present day could have induced the author to introduce his admirable lectures on preachers and preaching by such a flourish of trumpets.

Let no one suppose, however, that the contents of the volume are as senseless as the title. The author has peculiar fitness for the task he has undertaken, and has given us a work which is not only highly instructive, but is one of the most entertaining books of the kind we have ever read.

He first gives us a definition of a true preacher, then such examples as are best calculated to illustrate his idea. George Fox he considers one of the most stirring trumpets of the Church; Whitefield and Dawson share the like distinction; Richard Watson is taken as an example of the lamp; Lan-

celot Andrews is a model pitcher; while Jonathan Edwards is a splendid embodiment of all three. His definition of a preacher is arbitrary enough, but serves as a kind of guide in discussing the various classes of the profession.

The succeeding chapters present much that is valuable in the history, anecdotes, etc., of the pulpit, beginning with the Jewish Church, and discussing the style of preaching in subsequent ages.

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5. - *Studies of Philosophy and Theology.* By JOSEPH HAVEN, D. D., *Professor in Chicago Theological Seminary.* Andover: Warren F. Draper. 12mo. pp. 502. 1869. For sale by R. W. Carroll & Co.

THE author of this volume is one of the best thinkers in this country, and as these essays have occupied his most thoughtful hours, they can not fail to interest the class of readers for whom they were written.

The book can not, in the very nature of things, be popular. It treats of subjects for which the mass of men have very little concern. Metaphysics and theology, as such, are becoming less and less popular every day. Our age is too active, and intercommunication too rapid, to allow such subjects to have much hold upon the popular heart. Still there are a few persons in almost every community who will take delight in such a work as Professor Haven has given us. These will welcome his volume, and find in it much that is interesting and profitable.

These essays have appeared in various magazines, most of them in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, and are now collected into a volume with such notes as seem to be required.

While the subjects are all treated with marked ability, a few deserve special mention. If we must have the "Doctrine of the Trinity" discussed, then, by all means, let it be done in Professor Haven's clear and masterly manner. "Theology as a Science" is not worth much for practical use, but, if we must have it, we prefer to have the subject discussed in the style of the essay in this volume.

These discussions are claimed to be written not in the interest of any particular form of faith, but as simple and independent investigations of truth, which should ever be the aim of the Christian scholar. The volume is divided into two parts, and discusses the following themes:

"PART I. *Studies in Philosophy*: 1. Philosophy of Sir William Hamilton; 2. Mill *versus* Hamilton; 3. The Moral Faculty; 4. The Province of Imagination in Sacred Oratory; 5. The Ideal and the Actual.

"PART II. *Studies in Theology*: 1. Natural Theology; 2. The Doctrine of the Trinity; 3. Theology as a Science—its Dignity and Value; 4. Place and Value of Miracles in the Christian System; 5. Sin, as related to Human Nature and the Divine Mind; 6. Arianism—the Natural Development of the Views held by the Early Church Fathers."

- 6.—*The Life of John James Audubon, the Naturalist.* Edited by his widow. With an introduction by JAMES GRANT WILSON. New York: G. P. Putnam & Son. 12mo. pp. 443. 1869. For sale by R. W. Carroll & Co.

JOHN JAMES AUDUBON was one of the most remarkable men of his age. For sixty years or more he followed, with a religious devotion, the study of ornithology. Through all climates, exposing himself to all kinds of dangers, suffering all kinds of privations, he entered upon his work with an enthusiasm which no defeat could subdue, and no obstacle discourage. Truly did Christopher North say of him: "He is the greatest artist in his own walk that ever lived;" and we do not wonder that Baron Cuvier should pronounce his works to be "the most splendid monuments which art has erected in honor of ornithology."

This volume is an affectionate tribute to his memory by his widow. For the most part, the work is well done, and will be welcomed by the admirers of this heroic man both in this country and Europe. The book is largely made up of extracts from Audubon's journal, and this gives to it a freshness and interest which it could not otherwise possess. In the preface to the London edition of the work, we have the following striking pen-portraits of the man and his wife:

"Audubon was a man of genius, with the courage of a lion and the simplicity of a child. One scarcely knows which to admire most, the mighty determination which enabled him to carry out his great work in the face of difficulties so huge, or the gentle and guileless sweetness with which he throughout shared his thoughts and aspirations with his wife and children. He was more like a child at the mother's knee than a husband at the hearth—so free was the prattle, so thorough the confidence. Mrs. Audubon appears to have been a wife in every respect worthy of such a man; willing to sacrifice her personal comfort at any moment for the furtherance of his great schemes; ever ready with kiss and counsel, when such were most needed; never failing for a moment in her faith that Audubon was destined to be one of the great workers of the earth."

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- 7.—*Sermons by the REV. THOMAS HOUSE TAYLOR, D. D., for many years Rector of Grace Church, New York.* New York: G. P. Putnam & Son. 8vo. pp. 376. 1869. For sale by R. W. Carroll & Co.

IF superior taste in the mechanical part of a book were a sure passport to the book's immortality, then this volume could "read its title clear" to a never-ending fame. But it requires something more than mechanical completeness to give a book a permanent place in the literature of a country. We do not wish to be understood as intimating that Dr. Taylor's volume of sermons has no literary value or intellectual force. The sermons are about equal in style and thought to the best of the class to which they belong. We can not say very much, however, for the class. Fashionable pulpits such as Dr. Taylor filled are not likely to stimulate much religious or mental activity. And if we occasionally find some fine passages in his sermons,

they but tell us what he might have accomplished had he had a different congregation to wait on his ministry. His style is smooth enough, and his thoughts are generally compactly and naturally placed together, but his sermons lack enthusiasm—the language *con amore*, which can alone carry conviction to the hearts of men, and lead them to seek an interest in the blood of the crucified Savior.

We can not conceive that these sermons produced any visible effect upon the congregations to whom they were delivered. Hence, studied as sermons, they fall very far below a true standard; but as they are now collected in book form, if we read them as essays, we will find much in them that is worthy of a high religious culture and an earnest religious heart.

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- 8.—*Cyclopædia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature.* Prepared by REV. JOHN M'CLINTOCK, D. D., and JAMES STRONG, S. T. D. Vol. II. New York: Harper & Brothers. 8vo. pp. 933. 1868. For sale by R. W. Carroll & Co.

THIS Cyclopædia embraces a wide range of subjects, and, so far as published, is edited with fairness and ability. It is not as thorough in its treatment of many subjects as Kitto and Smith, but it is far better adapted to popular use than either. It is more thoroughly American, and more fully up to the times.

A first-class cyclopædia on the plan of this one is very much needed. We have nothing that exactly meets the popular demand—one that is suitable alike to the preachers and people; the learned and unlearned. Should this one be faithful to the promise it gives in the first two volumes, it will be an exceedingly valuable addition to our theological literature.

There are several articles in the second volume that are worthy of special mention. The one on "Chronology" is very exhaustive, and presents much that is useful upon that subject. The one on "Divination" will also be found highly interesting, and of great value. The sketches of eminent religious men are generally well written, and fairly present the leading points of their characters. A clever sketch of Alexander Campbell closes thus:

"Dr. Campbell was highly endowed as an orator; a noble presence and a powerful voice gave effect to his vigorous thought and fluent, energetic speech. Vast audiences gathered to hear him in his journeys through the West."

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- 9.—*Crede.* Boston: Lee & Shepard. 12mo. pp. 444. 1869. For sale by R. W. Carroll & Co.

THIS volume belongs to a class of works which have recently met with great popular favor. In no department of religious thought has there been more activity than that which discusses the natural and supernatural. The contest between Rationalism and Christianity is widening and deepening,

and every book which ably discusses the issues between these will be sought for with great eagerness.

"Credo" is, in some respects, an able work, and meets the skepticism of the day with brave and earnest words. It discusses, first, the "Supernatural Book;" next, "Supernatural Beings;" third, "Supernatural Life;" and lastly, "Supernatural Destiny." Under these heads the author vindicates the Bible and what are called Evangelical Doctrines with considerable ability. Still, it is unfortunate for the work that the author should allow his denominational views to obtrude themselves upon the public through a book that ought to have been free from all sectarian bias. We do not object to his being a Methodist, but we do not regard a defense of Methodism as exactly equivalent to a defense of the Bible; nor should we deem it necessary to adopt Rationalism as a system, though Methodism should turn out to be an unnecessary thing.

We are glad to witness the interest which is every-where manifest in the re-examination of the grounds of the Christian faith. We have no fears for the result, *provided* the contest is confined to the issues between primitive Christianity and infidelity. But we have not much hope that any one will be able to defend modern sectarianism against the vigorous attack of a vigilant and active Rationalism.

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10.—*Realities of Irish Life.* By W. STEWART TRENCH. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 16mo. pp. 297. 1869. For sale by R. W. Carroll & Co.

It is seldom we meet with a book whose title-page so exactly describes the contents. We doubt whether any book has ever appeared from the press which more faithfully describes Irish character than this one. And to say that it is thrillingly interesting does not, we think, overstate the case.

The book is a discussion of Irish passions and Irish wrongs, and the treatment is in a style as forcible, as full of humor and pathos as any thing Dickens ever wrote in his best and earliest works. It describes events in the personal experience of the author, events so extraordinary, that were it not that they are attested as indisputable facts, it would be difficult to believe that such things could happen in the present age. The work is, indeed, an apt illustration of the oft-repeated statement that "truth is stranger than fiction."

Just now there is a new interest manifested in the Irish people. The recent controversy in the British Parliament on the Irish Church question, and the final passage of the Disestablishment Bill, have awakened a profound interest in one of the most remarkable races on the European continent. Hence, we doubt not that this book of Mr. Trench will be eagerly read, especially in this country, where Irish struggles for freedom have always challenged the deepest sympathy of our liberty-loving people.

- 11.—*David, the King of Israel*; a Portrait drawn from Bible History and the Book of Psalms. By FREDERICK WILLIAM KRUMMACHER, D. D. Translated under the express sanction of the author by the REV. M. G. EASTON, M. A. New York: Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 518. 1869. For sale by R. W. Carroll & Co.

DR. KRUMMACHER is far from being a brilliant writer. In fact, he is sometimes almost dull. Then there is that inevitable prolixity which always characterizes German authors, and which, in his case, is all the more unbearable, because it is not relieved by much that is vigorous and sprightly.

The word *piety* is the key which unlocks to us the peculiarity of Krummacher's mind. You can not come in contact with his writings without being affected by his deeply religious nature. In this fact lies the value of his works. And in this day of sensational writing, when calm, earnest, heart-life is at a discount, it is quite refreshing to meet with such a work as the one before us.

"David, the King of Israel" is a valuable contribution to religious literature in this country, and the publishers are entitled to the thanks of religious people for giving us the work in such an attractive American dress. It is certainly not a promising book to sell, for it has few characteristics in harmony with the prevailing popular taste. It is, however, all the more welcome on that account.

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- 12.—*The Closing Scenes of the Life of Christ*; being a harmonized combination of the four Gospel histories of the last year of our Savior's life. By D. D. BUCK, D. D., with an Introductory Essay by W. D. WILSON, D. D., LL. D. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1869. 12mo. pp. 293. For sale by R. W. Carroll & Co.

THIS work is intended to give, in a convenient form, a connected view of the *personal history of Christ*, and especially of the year preceding his crucifixion. We believe it is Dean Alford who said that a complete and intelligible harmony of the Gospels is impossible, and we are inclined to think that this remark is more than half true. Still, that something valuable may be done in this way must be admitted, and we know nothing better for what it proposes than the work of Dr. Buck. It is evidently a work of much diligence, patience, and perseverance, and is both curious and convenient to the student of the New Testament.

The plan is simple, but evidently required an immense amount of labor to carry it out.

1. There is a combination into one harmonious and continuous narrative of every idea expressed in the four Gospel histories of the period designated.

2. In all cases the original expressions, as found in the authorized version of the New Testament, are retained.



3. By superior figures, 1, 2, 3, 4, incorporated with the Scripture text, it can be discovered from which of the several Gospel records the words, sentences, verses, and paragraphs have been selected.

There are a number of other points of interest, but these will sufficiently indicate the character of the work.

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13.—*The Gates Wide Open; or, Scenes in Another World.* By GEORGE WOOD. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 12mo. pp. 354. 1869. For sale by R. W. Carroll & Co.

As to what heaven really is, we know but little. What the Bible teaches upon the subject may be generalized as follows: *Heaven is a place of perfect happiness.* As to the exact elements of which this happiness is composed, or the exact employment that shall give it expression, the Bible is by no means clear. Every man has his own idea as to what these things are. To the sad, weary heart, whose life has been a severe toil, heaven seems a place of release from labor; to one who has experienced much sorrow, it is simply a place where all tears will be wiped away, etc. Of one thing, however, we are assured; to all of us who are worthy of heaven, it will be worthy of us, and will fill us with boundless felicity throughout eternity.

Recently there has been a new interest created in this whole subject by the publication of Miss Phelps's "Gates Ajar," a book which has had an almost unprecedented popularity. We now have "The Gates Wide Open," a very readable book, and one which will doubtless be eagerly sought by those who have been interested in Miss Phelps's work. It is proper to say that "The Gates Wide Open" is a new title for a book published in 1858, by Derby & Jackson. The book then had a very limited circulation, under the title "Future Life; or, Scenes in Another World." It is now published in handsome style, and may be read with interest and profit by all.

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14.—*Sacred and Constructive Art; its Origin and Progress.* A Series of Essays. By CALVIN N. OTIS, *Architect*. New York: G. P. Putnam & Son. 12mo. pp. 305. 1869. For sale by R. W. Carroll & Co.

THIS book is deserving of a much wider popularity than it is likely to have. In composing it, the author has had a practical object in view, to place before the public the cause, origin, nature, and object of constructive art. A work of this kind, well executed, must be of great value, for no such work has before been attempted. The author does not aspire to a literary reputation, but seeks to bring before the public, in a clear and simple style, a subject which has for many years engaged his attention. We think it will be generally conceded that he has written a very readable and useful book; one which will doubtless lead to more elaborate and satisfactory works upon the subject of which it treats.

- 15.—*The Wonders of Optics.* By F. MARION. Translated from the French, and edited by CHARLES W. QUIN, F. C. S. Illustrated. 16mo. pp. xii-248.

*Thunder and Lightning.* By W. DE FONVIELLE. Translated from the French, and edited by T. L. PHIPSON, Ph. D., F. C. S. 16mo. pp. xvi-216.

*The Phenomena and Laws of Heat.* By ACHILLE CAZIN, *Professor of Physics in the Lyceum of Versailles.* Translated and edited by ELIHU RICH, editor of Griffin's "Cyclopædia of Biography," and "Occult Sciences;" late editor of "The People's Magazine," etc. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 16mo. pp. xii-264. For sale by R. W. Carroll & Co.

THESE works have had an unprecedented popularity in Europe, and it is likely they will meet with as hearty reception here as there. Just now, when scientific questions are engrossing so much attention, it is well to have the popular mind instructed upon the leading subjects of science. These books are fully up to the times, and treat, in an easy, popular style, the most difficult problems of nature. They are copiously illustrated, and can not fail to interest the general reader as well as the earnest student.

- 16.—*The Bible Hand-Book; an Introduction to the Study of Sacred Scripture.* By JOSEPH ANGUS, D. D. Second revised edition. With revisions, notes, and an index of Scripture texts. By REV. F. S. HOYT, A. M. Philadelphia: James S. Claxton. 8vo. pp. 781. For sale by R. W. Carroll & Co.

WE welcome this new edition of this truly invaluable work. In the present edition all the known errors in typography and in the Scripture references have been corrected; also many statements which criticism has proved to be unfounded, or to require modification. Altogether it is now one of the best works of the kind in any language, and should be in the hands of every student of the Living Oracles.

- 17.—*An American Woman in Europe.* The journal of two years and a half sojourn in Germany, Switzerland, France, and Italy. By MRS. S. R. URBINO. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 16mo. pp. 235. 1869.

THIS is really a guide-book of Europe, and is quite unlike most books of travel. It gives you just the information you need, should you contemplate a visit across the Atlantic. The book is well worth a careful reading, though its value consists chiefly in its notice of those smaller things which are generally overlooked by travelers.

- 18.—*Men, Women, and Ghosts.* By ELIZABETH STUART PHELPS, author of "The Gates Ajar," etc. Boston: Fields, Osgood & Co. 16mo. pp. vi-334. 1869.

It would be difficult to tell why this volume was published, unless it was to sell on the reputation of the "Gates Ajar." It lacks the individuality of that book, and is not remarkable for any thing, unless it be the want of affinity between its title and its contents.

## FOREIGN LITERATURE.

## BOOKS.

- 19.—*Geschichte der Wissenschaften in Deutschland. Neuere Zeit. VIII er Band. Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft und orientalischen Philologie in Deutschland seit dem Anfange des 19. Jahrhunderts mit einem Rückblick auf die früheren Zeiten. Von THEODOR BENFEY.* (History of the Sciences in Germany. Modern Period. Vol. 8. History of the Science of Language and Oriental Philology in Germany since the beginning of the 19th century, with a retrospective glance at the earlier periods. By THEODORE BENFEY.) Munich: 1869. 8vo. pp. x-836.

THE world owes the suggestion of this great work to the historian Leopold Ranke and the practical initiation of it to King Maximilian II of Bavaria, whose royal munificence made it possible to put the magnificent plan into operation. It was an undertaking not only of national but of world-wide importance, and the name of its generous patron, who did not live to see even the first volumes of the work appear, will be forever linked with the history of the sciences in Germany. The first scholars of the land have been united under the direction of the Royal Bavarian Academy of Sciences, for the purpose of carrying out the project so grandly begun. There are to be separate histories of all the following departments of science: Catholic Theology, Protestant Theology, Philosophy, Æsthetics, Classical Philology, German Philology and Archæology, Oriental Philology (including the Science of Language), History, Military Science, Jurisprudence, Politics and Political Law, Political Economy, the Science of Agriculture and Arboriculture, Geography, Technology, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Astronomy, Geology, Medicine, Zoölogy, Botany, and Mineralogy. The first volume, containing the History of Political Law and of the Science of Politics by Professor Bluntschli, of Heidelberg, was issued in the year 1864, and has been followed at intervals by the History of Mineralogy by Professor Von Kobell, of Munich; the History of the Science of Agriculture and Arboriculture by Professor Fraas, of Munich; the History of Geography by Dr. Oscar Peschel, of Augsburg; the History of Protestant Theology by Professor Dr. Dorner, of Berlin; the History of Catholic Theology by Professor Werner, of St. Pölten; the History of Æsthetics by Professor Lotze, of Göttingen, and finally by the volume whose title stands at the head of this notice.

Concerning the author, we have only to say that he is one of the most eminent Orientalists and comparative philologists in Germany, which means in the world. He has been for the last thirty years and more identified with the whole forward movement in philology. And what a movement it has been! As chemistry is to alchemy, as astronomy to astrology, so is the

modern science of language to the philology of the last century. It is true, less has been said and less is known of the brilliant discoveries in the domain of the intellectual sciences than of the progress made in the various departments of physical science, but it is entirely safe to say that the advance in the former has been, comparatively, greater even than in the latter. This, of course, can not be shown in a brief notice like the present, but the fact is patent to all who choose to investigate, and those who deny it, do it at the peril of demonstrating their ignorance. To all who desire information as to the history and present state of philological science in particular we heartily recommend Professor Benfey's masterly and noble work. As a specimen of the impartial manner in which the whole subject is treated, we commend the following, which we translate from the section on "The Influence of Christianity on the Promotion of the Science of Language," to the attention of those sapient individuals who are always braying about the Christian religion being inimical to the progress of the sciences.

The author shows us how the narrow views of the Hindus, Greeks, and Romans retarded the development of philological science among them, and rightly remarks that by their enmity toward other languages they were prevented even from thoroughly understanding their own and cut off from effectually entering upon the higher problems of language. It was only through the greatest possible extension of the knowledge of languages that the horizon of the science could be so enlarged as to make real progress possible. But, he says:

"The whole spirit of classical antiquity was opposed to this. The foreign languages with which it came in contact, branded as they were with the name 'barbaric,' were disregarded, except for practical ends and in ethnological questions, in the determination of national affinities; in the scientific aspect they were treated with indifference. Even Greek and Latin, although taken cognizance of mutually by Romans and Greeks, do not appear to have reached, among either the former or the latter, an international treatment—Greek in the Latin language for Romans and, *vice versa*, Latin in the Greek language for Greeks. This disregard for the barbarian languages found also a certain justification in the rapidity with which they yielded to the encroachment of Roman and Greek culture, and either wholly disappeared or came near disappearing.

"Under Alexander the Great and his successors the Greek dominion had been extended into India. The Greek language had become lodged in Egypt, and in the western part of the empire of the Seleucidae, as the language of the educated, and had spread much further, as the vehicle of a higher culture, in Asia as well as in Europe and Africa. Kings of Parthia were in Crassus' time familiar with the Greek language, and a king of Armenia, Artavasdes, wrote orations, history, and even tragedies in Greek. In short, the power of Greek culture was so great in a large part of western Asia and Egypt, and increased to such an extent under the dominion of the Eastern Empire, that if there had not been a special obstacle the original languages would probably have disappeared just as they did in Thrace, Illyria, Spain, and Gaul.

"And yet, even in the period of classical antiquity, a strong foundation was laid for the reception of the non-classical languages into the domain of philology; not, however, by the representatives of the classical spirit; that great event, which transformed the whole way of thinking in that period—the creation of Christianity, bore also this most important expansion of the science of language in its bosom.

"Wherever a language possessed of vital vigor had still sustained itself in the mouth of the people proper, Christianity not only afforded powerful resistance to its further decadence, but also caused it to become fixed in literature, even to attain to a certain florescence, at least to leave behind enough of a literary character to enable modern philology to obtain a knowledge of its then condition. This is attributable principally to the fact that Christianity, into whatever country it penetrated, addressed itself not merely to the educated, but also, and that pre-eminently, to the humbler classes of the people; in which circles it also made the most numerous and most decided conquests. It became thereby a necessity for it to make use of the languages of the common people. As in the beginning of its history—in glaring opposition to Islam—it could not propagate itself by force of arms, but only by the power of the Word, particularly of its sacred writings, it was obliged to do what the Mohammedan held to be useless, nay, impossible, criminal—to translate them into the languages of all the peoples to whom it came. By this means they obtained in their own language books, which, in consequence of the unity of the Christian communities, were sacred alike to the educated and the uneducated among the members thereof, and therefore brought even the educated back to the use of the language of the people. No sacred language was opposed, among Christians, to the others with an exclusiveness similar to that exercised by the classical languages; all the nations that accepted Christianity received sacred Scriptures in their several tongues, which were thereby in a certain sense themselves made sacred. As by Christianity all men were placed on an equality, so all languages, and thereby the spell was broken which threatened to prove so prejudicial to the further development of the science of language.

"Thus we owe, even to the first centuries of Christianity, the development of a Coptic, a Syriac, an Armenian, a Georgian, and an Ethiopian literature, together with the most ancient monument of our mother tongue—the Gothic translation of several parts of the sacred Scriptures. The beginning of ancient Irish literature—the oldest remains of the Celtic language—although not accompanied by a translation of the Bible, we also owe to the influence of Christianity; so the beginnings of Anglo-Saxon literature are connected with a translation of sacred writings, and such a translation also stands at the head of the Slavic literature. It is true the Roman Catholic Church, in which Latin had been established by Gregory VII as the ecclesiastical language, placed obstacles greater or less in the way of a dissemination of the Bible in the vulgar tongues. On the other hand, on all the more powerful effort was made to this end among the Protestant Confessions, and since the organization of the first English Bible Society, (March 7, 1804, in London,) which was followed by many others on the continent, the movement has increased to such an extent, that there will soon be but few nations in existence, for whom it will not be possible to read the Holy Scriptures in their own language: an activity, the consequences of which are, at any rate, not less beneficial in the expansion of philology than in the propagation of Christianity.

"Yet the extension of this tendency of Christianity to a direct promotion of the science of language through more exact, grammatical treatment even of uncultivated tongues, into which the sacred Scriptures were translated, belongs to a much later period. In that of which we now speak it is limited essentially to the preservation of several vulgar tongues, and the literature growing out of them looks only to the service of the Church. A literature transcending these limits and, to some extent, even grammatical treatises, sprung up only in those circles which were more remote from the centers of culture in this period, or which had become estranged through religious factions—in Syria, Armenia, and Ethiopia. The astonishing Gothic translation, the work of a man of undoubtedly great philological gifts, was accompanied neither by a Gothic grammar nor a lexicon. It was only a necessary expedient for the instruction of the uneducated, of those who were unacquainted with the cultivated languages of that period—the Greek and Latin. These remained, even after the destruction of the Western Empire, the languages of the Church and of general culture. When the Goths allowed themselves to be mastered by Roman culture, there were no longer even copyists enough to be found in order to transmit entire to the future this work, so important for those who were soon to be the rulers of nearly all Europe.

"Thus this tendency of Christianity was in its beginnings of preponderant *extensive*

importance to the science of language; still, another factor came in, to which we must ascribe a preponderant *intensive* value.

"From the fact that Christianity proceeded out of Judaism, stood in most intimate connection with its sacred writings, was essentially built upon it, Judaism was also drawn into the sphere of culture which began to develop itself on the basis of Christianity. The interpretation of the sacred writings in their original text became of continually increasing importance, and in consequence thereof the Hebrew language took an equal, yes, in virtue of the sacredness of their contents, a pre-eminent position beside the classical languages, which had hitherto alone been treated scientifically. The domain of philological study was thus extended toward a language which, belonging to a family entirely different from the classical languages, standing over against them as wholly foreign, would necessarily contribute not a little toward transforming the views based on those languages concerning general linguistic questions, even toward demonstrating them to be erroneous.

"But not alone in virtue of their peculiar language were the sacred Scriptures of importance in the further development of the science of language, but also in virtue of their contents.

"The conviction prominent therein, of the descent of all men from a single human pair, of the original unity of all languages, the myth concerning the division of the primitive language into different tongues, which was long an article of faith, could not but exert a powerful influence on the most important problems of philology—in particular, regarding the origin of language, whether through human wisdom, according to Philo, or through reason, (the λογική δύναμις ἐντεθείσα παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ φύσει τῶν ἀνθρώπων,) according to Gregory of Nyssa, or, as the opponents maintained, in a special manner through God, (ὁ θεὸς ἔθετο τὰς προσηγορίας τοῖς ὄντι,) and could not but, in defending or refuting them, afford to linguistic inclinations and powers a lasting and extensive arena for the exercise of their skill in arms.

"The Jews, so long as they were independent, did not particularly distinguish themselves either by scientific or social development. Their intellectual creations are limited more especially to the domain of religion, as indeed the high position, which they take in the history of human culture, is essentially based upon the fact that they are, as far as their history reaches, the supporters of the idea of one only God and of that strict morality which proceeds from this idea; in other words, the representatives of religion and morality, which with the other nations of antiquity were dis severed from each other, but with them folded into the most intimate union—in a certain sense the religious nation *par excellence*. It was only after they had forfeited their independence, that they, in the dispersion, in contact with other nations, developed an intellectual activity, by means of which they were enabled, where they were not hindered by force, or oppressed, not only to vie with the nations among whom they lived in the progress of their culture, but sometimes to take a pre-eminent position.

"One of their chief merits consists, however, above every thing else, in their having, in spite of all the suffering and persecution which fell to their lot in almost every period, preserved their sacred writings, and in never failing to contribute, so far as circumstances permitted, to the faithful conservation and restoration of the text and interpretation thereof. In making the latter accessible to the unlearned they were the predecessors of Christianity, and won the glory of having instituted, if not, so far as known, the first translation of a voluminous work—this ought according to recent researches perhaps to be ascribed to the translators of the Zoroastrian writings into the Pahlavi tongue—yet at least the second. This was the Greek translation of the Holy Scripture, which was composed in the third century before our era, in the Macedonico-Attic dialect, for the use of the Jews in Egypt, who were unacquainted with Hebrew, and is known by the name of the Septuagint. It is based on a Hebrew text which preceded the later and better revision of the original. It nevertheless attained in the Egyptian Jewish circles to great authority, and almost entirely took the place of the original text, so that both Philo and Josephus make use of it by preference. It attained a still greater importance among Christians; but by this very means the attention of the Jews was attracted to the manifold discrepancies between it and the then received text of the original. In consequence thereof a new, slavishly correct Greek translation was made in the course of the second century of our era by Aquila, which was soon



followed by a revision of the common Greek text by Theodotion and a freer translation by Symmachus. This demonstrated to the Christians the necessity of going back to the Hebrew original, as is evident already in Origen and afterward in Jerome. Thus the Hebrew language was made an essential part of Christian science, and for the future at least an eminent place was secured to it in the domain of philology.

"On the other hand, the promotion, or rather the securing of a future science of language, through the influence of Christianity, became almost directly evident in another direction. Its influence in this direction ran through the whole medieval period in Europe, not infrequently illuminating the profound darkness by a magic twilight, and served almost as the most essential factor in preserving that tenuous thread, which, threatening every moment to break, was destined to unite the ancient with the modern culture, and which, by not breaking quite asunder, made the rapid and high development of the latter possible.

"With the spread of Christianity to those nations which did not belong to the Roman empire, were spread in greater or less degree those languages in which it had received its development hitherto, and in which its fundamental writings were composed. These were especially the Latin and Greek, and in a lesser degree also the Hebrew. With by far the greater number of the European nations the Latin language took the first position; the Bible was put into their hands in Latin, the language of the Church was Latin, and in this language most of the works which related to Christianity were written. Every one who in virtue of his calling occupied himself with Christianity was therefore of necessity driven to acquire a knowledge of this language. Inasmuch as whatever of science had been preserved was mainly, nay, almost altogether, cultivated by the clergy, Latin became also the language of science, and had therefore to be learned also by the few who, outside of this circle, were controlled by a scientific impulse. Thus the knowledge of Latin not only extended itself in a comparatively large circle, and was preserved, but it was also, in part at least, cultivated with earnestness and zeal. A multitude of writings, of the most various character, in prose and poetry, were composed in it, and in glosses and grammatical compendiums—to which we owe no little knowledge of the then condition of the European languages, particularly of the Irish and of our mother-tongue, as also of medieval affairs in general—the means of learning it were deposited. Hereby, on the one hand, an impulse was given, in spite of the occasional stringent prohibition of the reading of classic authors, to preserve the treasures of the Latin language, and to multiply, by copying, the number of manuscripts, even when they did not relate to ecclesiastical life; on the other hand, the taste for the grammatical treatment of a foreign language in the mother-tongue was awakened, and probably already somewhat strengthened.

"The Greek language, indeed, retired more into the background, yet it also continued to attract attention, at least in a general way, as the source of the original text of the New Testament; in the Byzantine empire, in Italy, and in other scattered localities, there was opportunity to learn it, and the interest awakened in it was at any rate sufficient to prevent also the Greek manuscripts from being wholly neglected.

"The Hebrew language, notwithstanding the reverence for it as the primeval language, (Vide Origen and Jerome,) fell with the increasing darkness of the middle ages naturally—particularly after the fifth century—wholly into the background. The preservation and multiplication of the Hebrew text of the Holy Scripture was committed to the Jews, where it was in good and faithful hands.

"A direct promotion of the science of language in the European middle ages is therefore hardly to be demonstrated. Nevertheless, it is not to be denied that by the very attention to, nay, the reverence for foreign languages, which was, in complete contrast to classical antiquity, implanted in them by Christianity—a reverence which, resting upon a religious basis, promised through an acquaintance with the wonderful works preserved in them to develop into a purely human love—the liking for and the tendency to general linguistic researches were so prepared for, that they were enabled at a later period to unfold themselves into the mighty scientific impulse, which has led in our day to the most remunerative results."



20.—*Sprache und Schrift. Das Lautdenken für Ohr und Auge. Freunden der Literatur und Sprachwissenschaft, insbesondere der studirenden Jugend, gewidmet von DR. KARL BÖTTGER, Professor am Gymnasium zu Dessau. Mit in den Text gedruckten Illustrationen.* (Speech and Writing. Thinking perceptible to Ear and Eye. Dedicated to Friends of Literature and Philology, especially to Young Students. By DR. KARL BÖTTGER, Professor in the Gymnasium at Dessau. With illustrations printed in the Text.) Leipzig: 1868. 8vo. pp. viii—134.

*Die Sprache und ihr Leben. Populäre Briefe über Sprachwissenschaft von DR. AUGUST BOLTZ, früher Professor der russischen Sprache an der Königlichen Kriegs-Akademie zu Berlin.* (Language and its Life. Popular Letters on Philology. By DR. AUGUST BOLTZ, formerly Professor of the Russian Language in the Royal Military Academy of Berlin.) Leipzig: 1868. pp. ix—149.

THERE is a disposition, now every-where apparent, to popularize the results of scientific research. This is the case not only in our own country, in England and France, but (which will be a matter of surprise to many) to an even still greater extent in Germany. In that land, which is popularly regarded as the native soil of Mr. Carlyle's Dryasdust, where the dreariest learning has been thought to be the daily bread of scholars, and misty, bottomless speculation the peculiar atmosphere of all philosophical intellects, where letters and the sciences were confined exclusively to an aristocracy of the mind, there is, now at least, a universal restless desire to make the whole people partakers of the best culture of the age, and therefore a perfect deluge of books and pamphlets, often written in the most elegant and entertaining style, on all possible subjects of human thought and investigation. And candor compels us to confess that they are, as a rule, far superior to most of the productions of a like character published here or in England. The books written in English are almost always either too large or too dull, or both, to suit the purpose of popular instruction. Of late years several treatises have been published, both here and in England, intended to serve as popular introductions to the modern science of language, as based upon comparative philology. With the exception, perhaps, of the little work of Mr. Farrar, on "the Origin of Language," they have all missed the mark aimed at, by forgetting that when writing for general instruction *multum in parvo* is the rule.

We have rarely seen a book which, in the treatment of its subject and the distribution of the materials, approached so near to the ideal of a work for popular instruction as the first of the two above-named, by Prof. Böttger, the German translator of Max Müller's Lectures on the Science of Language. A thin volume of one hundred and thirty-four pages, and yet all the essentials treated. The book was written for youthful students, for children, but may be studied with profit also by the majority of "children of a larger growth." "It must," says the author, "be a source of high

enjoyment to every mind striving for a broader culture for once to cast a glance, as it were from the top of the tower of Babel, at all the languages of the world, or at least at the chief families of them, the Aryan, Semitic, and Turanian, and to occupy itself, for a brief season, with the question concerning the forms in which the human mind has molded its thoughts for millenniums." To all who respond to this sentiment we can heartily recommend this little guide to the top of the tower; we only wish he could speak English.

The work of Dr. Boltz was an inspiration, and it has the excellencies and some of the faults of that kind of composition. There are nine letters, which treat in succession the whole subject-matter of modern philology. They were written during the dog-days of 1867, in the sweat of the author's brow, not for bread, but for love of man. The hope of the writer was that he might find the form, which would enable him "to awaken in more extensive circles an interest in a science which more than all others is adapted to excite us to recognize our brother in our fellow man, to love him and to march with him in the way of mental and spiritual progress, until (in this sense) there shall be but one flock and one shepherd—universal human love." The letters bear traces of the fever-heat, internal and external, in which they were written; the composition is often careless, and the style occasionally too stilted; but they are any thing but tedious, and there is solid information in them.

On page 28 there is a somewhat ludicrous mistake, which does not look like a typographical blunder. In speaking of the "Code of Gentoo Law," published in London, in 1776, it is called the *Code of the Gentle Law*!

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21.—*R. Rothe's Nachgelassene Predigten. Herausgegeben von DR. DANIEL SCHENKEL. Iler Band: Predigten gehalten zu Wittenberg und Heidelberg in den Jahren 1829-1842. Nebst einem Anhang, enthaltend die sämmtlichen früher schon gedruckten und von dem Verfasser selbst herausgegebenen Predigten.* (R. Rothe's Posthumous Sermons. Edited by DR. DANIEL SCHENKEL. Vol. II. Sermons preached in Wittenberg and Heidelberg in the years 1829-1842. Together with an Appendix, containing all the Sermons previously printed and edited by the Author himself.) Elberfeld, 1869. Cincinnati: Philip K. Theobald. 8vo. pp. ii-366.

*Predigten von Richard Rothe. Gehalten zu Bonn in den Jahren 1851-1854. Nach Stenographischen Aufzeichnungen herausgegeben von JOHANNES BLEEK, Pfarrer. IIIer Band der Nachgelassenen Predigten.* (Sermons by Richard Rothe. Preached in Bonn in the years 1851-1854. Edited from Stenographic Notes, by the Rev. JOHANNES BLEEK. Vol. III of the Posthumous Sermons.) Elberfeld, 1869. 8vo. pp. viii-382. (Cincinnati: Philip K. Theobald.)

We have already called attention to the first volume of this posthumous edition of Rothe's Sermons. We sought at the same time to give our

readers, so far as it could be done in a few sentences, a general idea of the bent of Rothe's mind, and the character of his work and influence. The publication of the second and third volumes gives us the opportunity of again signalizing the deep piety and wonderful simplicity and sweetness of these sermons. They cover, as we now have them, a period of more than thirty years in the life of one of the profoundest thinkers of the nineteenth century. It may, therefore, be readily supposed that they do not represent a frozen system of thought, in which there was no progress from darkness to light, or from good to better still. If there was one thing which characterized Rothe more than any thing else it was his thirst for truth, and his thorough honesty in uttering it when he was convinced that he had found it. It was this thirst for truth which led him out of the arid and dreary desert of theological dogmatism into that land flowing with the milk and honey of simple faith in the one divine ideal of human life. Rothe began with the traditional dogmas of the Church: the translation of a few paragraphs from one of his sermons will show, more conclusively than any words of ours can do, where he ended. On the fifth Sunday after Trinity, in the year 1857, he preached to the students in Heidelberg on "The Conflict between Belief and Unbelief in Jesus in the Hearts of the Children of our Time." The burden of this, as of all of Rothe's later sermons, was to explain the real nature of faith in Jesus, in the hope that, after he had removed every thing foreign and extraneous, those who had hitherto been repelled would hasten to embrace it.

"In what does the real essence of belief in Jesus consist?" he asks. "What is it to believe *in Jesus*; and what to believe *in Jesus*? The answer is so easy that a child might give it, provided you only do not proceed from preconceived opinions, and that you first of all put yourself in the position of the first believers in Jesus.

"In the first place, What is it to believe *in Jesus*? This can not, one would think, be seriously a matter of doubt. Why, it is to believe in *him, himself*, in his *person*—not in any particular representation of him—in a conception, by means of which it is to be described to the understanding what he is, and in a definite formula which expresses this conception in a traditional manner. We do not wish to detract at all from the value of such conceptions and formulas, but yet that must be evident: they are not *Jesus himself*, but only a product of human philosophy relating to him, the work of men, of theologians. To believe in Jesus means to believe in him, himself, in this definite person *pictured to our eyes in the Gospels in a completely defined, accurately delineated, historical image*. To believe in Jesus does not mean to believe in his *offices and titles*, but in his person. And what does that mean: in his person? It means: in the particular *moral character* which shines out toward us from that historical picture—in this definite *inward disposition*, as we read it in that picture, in this particularly constituted *heart*, as it is mirrored there. To believe in the *doctrine* concerning Jesus, in the doctrinal definitions of the Church *about him*, is not to believe in *him*, but rather in the men, the theologians, the Church, who have set up these doctrinal definitions. Is the object of our faith nothing but a pale, shadowy *intellectual image* in our understanding? Is it a mere formula, such as: God-man, Son of God and Man, Savior, Reconciler, etc., and not the *living, real, divine-human, holy character, in virtue of which* Jesus is all this, and for which those formulas are only the picture-frame in which it may be the better seen: then it is not, as every child can understand, belief in *him*. That it is not is as certain as that the *real Jesus* is not the *conception* of him, not his *title*, his *office*, but

that which makes him this determinate person, that is, his peculiar character, the holy inward disposition, out of which his holy Savior-life proceeded, and this life itself, wholly consecrated to the service of his Heavenly Father and of his brethren on earth. He who believes in this believes in Jesus, whatever his theory concerning Jesus's person and work may be.

"And in the second place: What is to believe in Jesus? Certainly not to accept as true, and allow to pass current, a certain representation of him. One may thus believe in a thing or in a formula, but nevermore in a person. And here the question is concerning the latter sort of belief. And what it means to believe in a person every one of us knows from daily experience. It means to put one's confidence in him, to trust him and submit to him trustfully in love and obedience. Now it is just so with the belief in Jesus. To put one's confidence in him, in absolute trust and absolute loving devotion, this is to believe in him. And this is just the way in which men believed in him while he was still in the body. Had those who believed in him then, and in this belief adhered to him, any clear and certain representation at all of him, of his person, his vocation, let alone the perfectly accurate one? No; but they felt themselves in their hearts drawn to him mightily; a voice within them said: Yes, with this Jesus I am at ease in my inmost soul; this is a heart which I can trust entirely, to which I can reveal my deepest secrets; I can build upon his word in every thing; on him I can rely in every condition; pour all my troubles into his heart, and lay them upon his shoulders; follow him absolutely in every path in which he directs and leads me. Whither else could I go? He, and he alone, has words of eternal life! If I only belong to him, may call myself his, and him mine, my master and friend, I feel myself secure for time and eternity. Obeying this voice they confided themselves to him without reserve, and placed themselves wholly at his disposition. And this he himself called believing in him; and for this very reason this will remain for all time the only true sense of the word.

"But if this is the character of belief in Jesus, how easy it is, my brethren, for this, which Jesus calls belief in him, to be wanting in one who has the most orthodox representation of him in his mind! And, again: how easy for it to be present where there is no such representation at all! You can easily picture this to yourselves. Imagine for a moment that the Lord Jesus were to appear again to us now, in the midst of Christendom, but just in the same manner as he did of old, in the form of a servant, in complete incognito, without titles and honors, without official dress, and without the decorations of his Father in Heaven, so that we could see nothing of him, in word or deed, but his holy heart, completely filled with his Heavenly Father, full of pitying love and of resplendent truth. What do you think? Who among the Christians of the present day would recognize him, and cling to him, and who not? I do not wish to anticipate any one's judgment, but, for my part, I am thoroughly of the opinion that very many of those who make orthodox confession of Christ with the greatest volubility would pass by without recognizing him, and without feeling his Divine power of attraction, and this partly for the very reason that they would not discover in him those (for them) conclusive marks, which are given in their dogmatic treatises—as he would certainly seem to them far too worldly. And, on the other hand, how many of those who are unable to adopt the ecclesiastical confession of Christ as their own, would feel themselves drawn to him out of the deepest depths of their heart, would follow his every footstep, would fall in homage at his feet, and would not let him go, and would also inspire in him a corresponding attraction toward them! O yes, how completely different would be then the grouping of human hearts, in their relation to Jesus, from what we should expect from the way in which they call themselves and others 'believers' and 'unbelievers!' And yet this would probably be the most certain test of belief in Jesus. For whoever is drawn to the real Jesus, not to the painted one of theological science, he is a believer in Jesus, and only he. He, the Lord Jesus himself, would certainly call these alone believers, for they alone really believe in him, himself; the rest believe merely in his titles and honors, in his high guardianship in heaven, and in the beautiful presents which he brings with him.

"If, therefore, we only keep clearly in view the true nature of belief in Christ—and this is, moreover, indispensable to every one who wishes to guard against delusions as to his own belief—we shall easily find our position as to the inward conflict of which we speak.

We shall say to our surprise that belief in Jesus is a much more simple matter than we have imagined. We have always thought, who knows how many intellectual operations, and hundreds of investigations of a scientific character, were indispensable to it? Now we see that the essence of the matter consists of nothing of the sort. To have confidence, but perfect confidence in the holy—in the literal sense of the word, Divine character, full of grace and truth, which beams on us so kindly serious from the Jesus of the Gospels, and which shines with ever-increasing clearness out of his whole historic work during these eighteen centuries—to have faith in this character, to resign one's self to him in faithful obedience—that is it. And this is not a complicated task, for upright and simple souls not a difficult one. If you, my brethren, in whom belief in Jesus is struggling with unbelief, once perceive this clearly, you will soon take courage; for you will then see that what you called your unbelief in Jesus is, for the most part, not that at all—that *real* unbelief in Jesus, with you, has its seat in far other places than where you have sought it. You will become conscious then of the real belief in Jesus, already present in you, which you have hitherto not recognized as such, because a false representation of him dazzled your vision—your hitherto *unconscious* Christianity will become *conscious*—you will now call by its *right name* whatever of true piety there is in you, namely, belief in Jesus Christ, and not as you have done, your own virtue and such like—for *every thing* good and noble in you, you will give Jesus the glory, to whom alone it belongs. You will then no longer run the risk of denying what is to you in very deed the holiest and highest for the reason that you do not know its true name. You will then joyfully *confess* Jesus before all the world, because you can do it with complete inward truth, and extend the fraternal hand without reserve to those who have long openly confessed him. But especially will you, when you know what you possess in Jesus, and that what is truly good, whatever name it bear, can flourish within you only through the closest personal adhesion to him, cleave fast to him in confiding love and obedience, and, moreover, to the living, *real* Jesus, and not to the mere profile of a scientific doctrine concerning him. Thus you will bring his holy image, in its every lineament, into ever more distinct relief, until he stands in bodily form before your inward vision, and, eye and heart fixed continually upon it, you resign yourself like a child to all those influences which it will exercise upon you; you will comply with every demand which it excites in your conscience, and thus give proof to yourselves and the world that you *really believe* in Jesus, notwithstanding your *language* concerning him differs from what our forefathers transmitted to us. Thus your belief, your Christianity, will become integral, whole.

"Yes, dear friends, this is what our time has need of. If this could only take place in a large number, if *all* the souls, of whom we have spoken, *were to become conscious of their unconscious Christianity*, then modern Christendom would be healed. This is its fundamental disease—that *they have lost the consciousness of their actual Christianity*. We have no idea that all our true spiritual blessings, both those of the individual and those common to all, are derived from Christ and from him alone; in purblind delusion we complacently regard that as the work of mankind which we possess only in virtue of the effects of that holy vivifying sun which rose upon us in Christ. Oh, if this almost universal delusion were dissipated, if our contemporaries could only become conscious of what they have of Christ, and how he is so very close to them in what they think their own most peculiar possession, how different, wholly different, and how much more beautiful it would be among us! *This* is the only way in which it can be brought about, and it will be brought about in this way, that the Lord Christ shall be again acknowledged and adored, and at large too, in his Christendom. In *this* way let us joyfully hope that a *common, many-voiced*, joyful and cheerful confession of Christ will again be heard among us, be it when it may; and then again will *all* flock to our houses of worship, and, bowing the knee in grateful homage before him, give, as out of one mouth, so also from a single heart, praise, and thanks, and glory to him whose name they bear."

We think this the clearest exposition of *the* vital question in theology that we have ever seen. There is not the slightest doubt as to what Rothe means, and no doubt but he means exactly the right thing.

- 22.—*Die Person Jesu Christi*, von DR. CHR. E. LUTHARDT; *Christenthum und Cultur*, von JULIUS DISSELHOFF; *Ueber Schöpfungsgeschichte und Naturwissenschaft*, von OTTO ZÖCKLER; *Die Echtheit unsrer Evangelien*, von CONST. TISCHENDORF; *Das Wunder*, von M. FUCHS; *Die Auferstehung Christi*, von DR. G. UHLHORN; *Ueber die biblische Versöhnungslehre*, von W. F. GESS; *Vernunft, Gewissen und Offenbarung*, von HERMANN CREMER; *Die Idee der Vollendung des Reiches Gottes und ihre Bedeutung für das historische Christenthum*, von PROF. J. P. LANGE. (*The Person of Jesus Christ*, by DR. CHR. E. LUTHARDT; *Christianity and Civilization*, by JULIUS DISSELHOFF; *Concerning the History of Creation and Natural Science*, by OTTO ZÖCKLER; *The Genuineness of our Gospels*, by CONST. TISCHENDORF; *Miracles*, by M. FUCHS; *The Resurrection of Christ*, by DR. G. UHLHORN; *Concerning the Biblical Doctrine of Atonement*, by DR. W. F. GESS; *Reason, Conscience, and Revelation*, by HERMANN CREMER; *The Idea of the Consummation of the Kingdom of God and its Significance for Historical Christianity*, by PROF. J. P. LANGE.) Gotha: 1869.

WE would call attention to the above series of lectures, issued in pamphlets, averaging about 45 pages each. They embrace, as will be seen, all the great questions which agitate the theological and religious world at the present day. The names of the several authors, some of whom are well known in this country, will be a sufficient guarantee for the religious character of their productions.

We have been particularly struck with the lecture by Prof. Zöckler. It is a powerful tilt at the so-called results of modern scientific investigation in regard to the origin and cause of things. We confess we think the attack would have been more successful if it had been a little less violent. In his zeal to annihilate his opponent with a single broadside the lecturer loaded his guns with every thing that came to hand, filling them to the muzzle and ramming them hard. The report was, of course, tremendous; but the gunner forgot that he was fighting in a storm, with the sea running high, and that by pointing directly at the enemy at any given moment he was sure *not* to hit him.

- 23.—*Siphre Kodesh. Illustrierte Pracht-Bibel für Israeliten. In dem masoritischen Text und neuer deutscher Uebersetzung mit erläuternden Bemerkungen von PROF. DR. JULIUS FUERST. (The Illustrated Holy Bible for Israelites. In the Masoretic Text, with a new German Translation and Explanatory Remarks, by PROF. DR. JULIUS FUERST.)* Leipzig and Dresden: 1869.

THIS is a magnificent work, and should be in the hands of every Biblical student. The Hebrew text is the most beautiful that we have ever seen—a pleasure to look at—the illustrations are first-class; and the notes, whether one always agrees with them or not, are always instructive. The work is to be completed in about fifty numbers, and, when complete, will be an ornament to any library.



## REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

1.—*Fahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie. Gotha: 1869. Drittes Heft.*

The current number of the above periodical is mainly taken up with two long articles, the one by Dr. Martensen, Bishop of Seeland, and the other by Dr. J. Köstlin, Professor in Breslau. Seventy-five pages are devoted by the Bishop to a discussion of the time-worn, old yet ever new, question concerning the mutual relations of faith and knowledge, belief and science. And what is the end of the whole matter? Why, a comforting assurance that the discussion will probably never terminate, that there will always be men on both sides confident that they can silence all opposing arguments! The closing sentence we can subscribe to: we give it for the benefit of our "Naturalistic" friends:

"Should any single philosophical system be seriously of the opinion that it has been at length settled by incontrovertible evidence that Naturalism alone is 'science,' and that for all time to come there can be no more mention of *theological* science, or that all theology will very soon come to an end: it may be taken for granted with perfect certainty that such a philosophy will at best resemble the peasant, who, standing on the bank of a river, expected that its waters would soon be exhausted, so that he could pass over dry-shod; the river, however, rolled on, and will continue to roll to eternity.

*"Rusticus expectat, dum defluat amnis, at ille  
Labitur et labetur in omne volubilis ævum."*

The second paper, covering 64 pages, is a continuation of Prof. Köstlin's "Studies Concerning the Moral Law," and treats in an interesting and masterly manner the domain of "the permissible" in ethics, with especial reference to the opinions of Rothe and Wuttke. This is followed by some brief additions which Prof. Diestel makes to his article—mentioned in our last number—on the "Church Estimate of the Old Testament," and this again by a series of excellent notices of current literature.

2.—*Revue Chrétienne. Paris. Juin; Juillet. 1869.*

The June number contains, to the exclusion of nearly every thing else, a long article on "James II and Charles X, an historical comparison of the reign and career of these two monarchs. In the July number there are two valuable and not over-long articles; the one on M. Renan's *St. Paul*, and the other on "the Religious Value of the Christian Doctrines." M. de Presensé says of Renan's work that it will be a surprise to no one. It is in perfect harmony with the *Vie de Jésus* and *Les Apôtres*, has the same qualities, the same defects, every-where the same method of procedure for the purpose of embellishing and belittling the great past of the Christian Church:

"The talent of the author has not grown feebler; he always throws a vivid interest over all questions, even the most arid. No one knows better than he how to make erudition piquant. He remains a landscape-painter of the first order for the Orient and Greece; his pictures are of small dimensions, but exquisite."



The reviewer does full justice, we think perhaps a little more than justice, to Renan's learning. He says:

"All the information which general history can afford concerning the state of Roman society, the Judaism of the period of decadence, and the countries traversed by the apostolic missionaries, is really exhausted in this book: numismatics have been laid under contribution with equal ability and learning. The beautiful chapter on Athens at the time at which Paul taught there, will attract especial attention. It is illuminated by that incomparable light which bathes the Parthenon, the reflection of which is never again extinguished in the memory of those who have once contemplated it."

After a thorough review of the critical treatment of the life of Paul at the hand of M. Renan, the writer concludes:

"We are weary of this sugar-coated kind of polemics, which has sharp claws under the velvet which envelops them; for what it takes away is the very substance of religion, its moral foundation. In a word, M. Renan's St. Paul is of equal value with the Jesus which he gave us some years ago. But his method of procedure is better known, and the whole prestige of his talent is not sufficient to insure the success of such prodigious falsifications of the grandest memories of the human race. A few fragments of the Epistles of Paul, admirably translated in the new book of M. Renan, are sufficient to make romance succumb to history. The elegant modern fripperies, which he has tried to patch on to the old cloth, tear away of themselves, and nothing remains but the solid tissue of reality."

Of the second article, by M. Boniface, we can not give an abstract which would do it justice. In order to appreciate it thoroughly the whole article should be read in connection. It is in a certain sense a defense of orthodoxy against the objections of those who wish to substitute for the Christianity of the Bible a "simplified" Christianity, without miracles and without mysteries. The article is a masterly statement of the case as between those who are disposed to attach no importance whatever to the specifically Christian doctrines as such, and those who, though recognizing the human element in the orthodox system, still believe that orthodoxy rests on a true Biblical foundation, and that there can be no Christianity wholly aside from the received dogmas.

*The British Quarterly Review.* London. July. 1869.

This is an excellent number of the best of the English Quarterlies. Two articles are worthy of special mention: "The Condition of Englishwomen in the Middle Ages," and "The Language of Light." The first of these is highly instructive reading for those who imagine that woman has ever been the victim of oppression and wrong from the "lords of creation." The article shows conclusively that during a period when English civilization was little better than Barbarism, woman was greatly respected, and exerted a powerful influence on the manners and customs of the age. The article on "The Language of Light" is of thrilling interest, and will doubtless attract the attention of scientific men, as well as command the earnest interest of the general reader.

## EDITORS' ROUND TABLE.

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FAITH AND PHILOSOPHY.—One of the chief difficulties in the way of Christian unity is the fact that theologians do not properly distinguish between Faith and Philosophy. They are not satisfied for us to believe the *facts* of religion; we must accept their *explanation* of these facts. Now, that Christianity has a true philosophy, will not, we presume, be denied by any one. But it is altogether possible for people to be saved who have not the slightest idea what this philosophy is. The faith of the Christian is not *doctrinal*, but *personal*. It is not belief in a dogma, but in a glorious person—one who is “able to save to the uttermost all who come to God by him.” Hence the Christian faith is living, earnest, active; not a cold, formal abstraction. It has the power and influence of a personal incarnation, and, as such, impels its possessor to go forward in life’s conflicts and make a character in brave and glorious deeds. Philosophy enters upon the explanation of facts; and, while it is possible to reach a right conclusion in reference to all legitimate philosophical questions, it is, nevertheless, true that in the sacred Scriptures the “unity of the faith” is never made to rest upon any such matters—faith in Christ and obedience to his commandments being the only test of fellowship in the Church of Christ.

With this very evident distinction before us, is it not strange that theologians have insisted upon unity where unity is neither possible nor always desirable, and have been little concerned about the only unity we can ever have, or that would be, in any important sense, beneficial? We think it can not successfully be denied that the grounds of alienation and division among the followers of Christ do not relate to faith, but to philosophy—not to facts, but the explanation of facts. To illustrate: men can all unite in the belief of the Bible statement, that “Jesus is the Christ, the Son of the living God.” But this will not satisfy the demands of philosophy. It starts a number of questions which may be important enough in themselves, but should never be made tests of fellowship among Christians. It may be well enough for some minds to consider the *manner* in which the Divine nature was united to the human in Christ; whether he was properly to be called *one* person or two; whether he should be regarded as of *one substance* or of *like substance* with the Father; whether the *deity suffered* at the crucifixion; in what way the sacrifice of Christ was accepted as a *satisfaction* for sin; *why* this sacrifice was *necessary*, etc. But these questions belong to the

*schools*, not to the *Church*; and if they are to be settled before Christians can have fellowship one with another, then we may as well conclude at once that the prayer of the Savior for unity among his followers will never be answered; for it is simply certain that theologians will never agree concerning these philosophical questions. How much better it would be to discuss these questions, if need be, but hold them *subordinate* to the great law of love, which requires unity only in reference to matters of faith! We think it does not require much reflection to see that the divisions of Christendom have their origin in things that do not necessarily enter into the Christian life.

OUR TRUE POSITION.—Some of our religious friends are still puzzled about our unsectarianism. They are not willing to admit the claim, because we represent, in some sense, a certain religious body. But suppose that religious body which we represent is, in principle and aim, anti-sectarian—what then? If, from the stand-point of Primitive Christianity, we contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints, and urge all who love the Lord Jesus to unite upon the one foundation of apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone—are we not unsectarian, at least as much so as the Word of God requires us to be? It may be that we are, in some respects, unfaithful to this plea—do not support it with legitimate arguments. If so, it would be more in harmony with the spirit of Christ to point out our mistakes than to hide behind the “glittering generalities” of conscious inability to overthrow our position. It would certainly be more like that charity which “thinketh no evil,” to “show us a more excellent way,” than to deal in the unfruitful denunciations of sectarian vindictiveness. We feel that in pleading for the union of the people of God we are doing the work of Christ; and, to shake our faith in the righteousness of our cause will require something more than the ungainly frowns of a few religious bigots, whose charity is measured by the dimensions of a human creed, and whose sympathy for humanity is largely expended in discussing the difference between *meum* and *tuum*.

A WORD WITH OUR EXCHANGES.—We can not close this last number of the first volume of the *QUARTERLY* without expressing our heartfelt thanks to many papers and magazines for their favorable notices during the year. We have been met with words of cheer from almost all quarters. The religious and secular press have alike bid us Godspeed. Both in this country and Europe the *QUARTERLY* has commanded very general attention. We do not think that this has been chiefly because of the superior ability displayed in its articles. We are rather inclined to think it is because its articles have discussed living issues, and contended for a plea which is rapidly taking possession of the popular heart. Γενήθητω φῶς.



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THE  
CHRISTIAN QUARTERLY.

No. IV.

OCTOBER, 1869.

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*Πάντα δοκιμάζετε τὸ καλὸν κατέχετε.*—1 THESS. V. 21.

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## “THE CHRISTIAN QUARTERLY”

WILL be devoted to the advocacy of Primitive Christianity, as distinguished from the religion of sects. It will discuss, with freedom and impartiality, the important questions which from time to time engross the attention of the Religious World, and will review such books as may be issued bearing upon these subjects, and also literary and scientific works of a high order. And while it will give proper attention to History—to the Lessons of the Past—it will be mainly devoted to the discussion of the great Living Issues of the Present—the questions which more especially concern the Church of God to-day.

The Present Age is characterized by an immense amount of activity in all the Departments of Human Thought and Action; and this peculiarity is especially noticeable in the Religious World. Every-where the old foundations of society are breaking up, while there is a very general outcry for something better—something more in harmony with the Present and Eternal Welfare of the Race. To assist in giving a proper direction to this earnest inquiry, to contribute to the Unity and Spiritual Growth of the Children of God, and to develop ways and means for carrying on the great work of Converting the World, is the purpose to which the Quarterly shall be sacredly devoted.

In dealing with these matters, it will be the aim of the Quarterly to maintain a dignified and courteous bearing toward all from whom it may differ, to cultivate a fraternal spirit with all who, out of a pure heart, call upon the name of the Lord every-where; but it will be uncompromising in its treatment of what its editors conceive to be Error, as well as unyielding in its demands for the Truth as it is revealed in the Holy Scriptures. In short, it is the purpose of all connected with the editorial department to make the Quarterly a high-toned, able, and earnest advocate of the religion of the New Testament, in opposition to all human systems and traditions of men.

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Believing thus, we enter upon our labors with confidence that they will meet the approbation of our Heavenly Father, and secure his blessing. We earnestly ask the sympathy and cooperation of all who love a pure literature, devoted to the sacred ends to which our work is dedicated.



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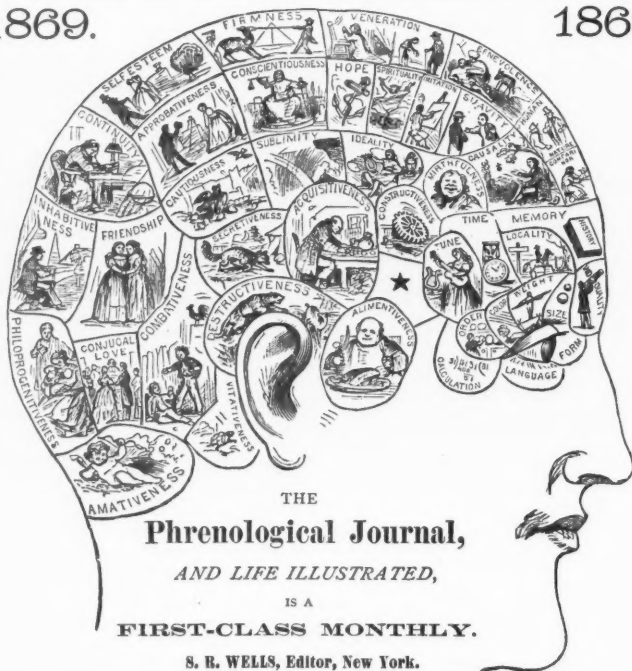
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